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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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VOLUME XXXVI



VERY REV. THOMAS J. McMAHON, S.T.D.

Editor, Society's Publications

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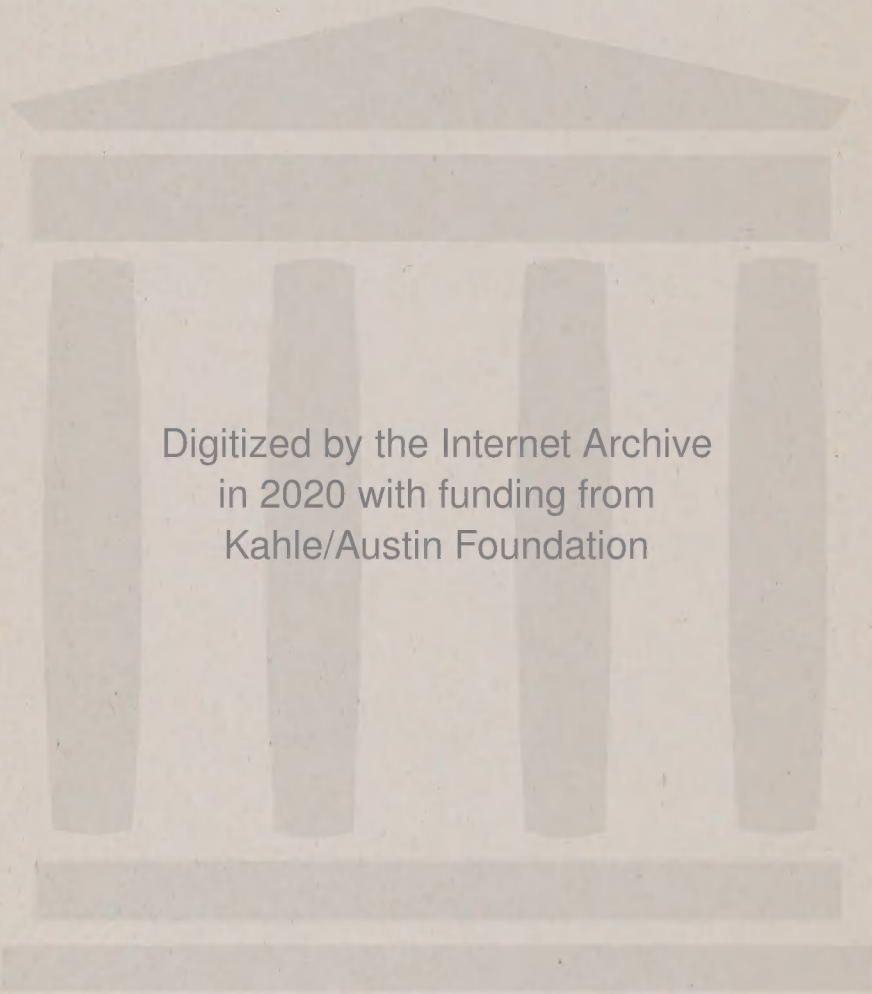
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SOCIETY HONORS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
October 21, 1946

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

OUR AMERICAN CARDINALS

(Address given by Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D., National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association and Editor of the Society's Publications, at the Annual Meeting and Reception to Cardinal Spellman of the United States Catholic Historical Society, October 21, 1946, at the Hotel Commodore, New York.)

ON AN April day, in the year 1865, among those who followed the funeral cortege of the murdered President Lincoln through the streets of Baltimore there was a young priest named Father James Gibbons. This son of an Irish immigrant clerk was destined to be a princely member of the Roman Senate of the Catholic Church, and years later, in the evening of his own life, James Cardinal Gibbons wrote: "There is this striking analogy between the Republic of the Church and the Republic of the United States, that the son of a peasant is eligible to the highest ecclesiastical preferment, including the Papacy itself, just as the humblest citizen of our country may aspire to the Presidency."

It may be a surprise to you to know that actually twenty-four prelates have been called to the College of Cardinals from these United States. Eleven of them were Archbishops of American Sees at the time of their elevation. Nine of them were born here, eight of Irish and one of German immigrant stock. Two were born in Ireland, like so many of the millions of Catholics who have peopled our land. Two United States Cardinals were born in the South. Three saw the light of day in greater New York, and two of these in our far famed lower East Side. Two came from metropolitan Boston, and two from small towns. Four of these received their college education in the city of New York, two at Fordham and two at Manhattan.

All these, in putting on the royal dye of martyrdom and spiritual empire, have completed the cycle of Lincoln in the ecclesiastical order, not, it is true, by the earthly ambition for ruling but by the inspiration of their lives of service. From teeming city streets

and lonely country lanes they have swarmed out into that vast boulevard cut by a Universal Church throughout the world. From very humble homes they have plodded to the pinnacle of Christendom, so that the cardinalitial dignity, so lavishly bestowed on the American Church during the past three quarters of a century, is not alone Rome's continuing approval of a Church that has come of age, amid the unending processions of nations whose children have been enrolled under her standard. It is more, dare we say much more?, for the cardinalitial dignity is an accurate historical summary of what our Church has meant in the building of this nation of liberty loving men.

John Gilmary Shea, whom we like to call the Father of American Catholic Church History, gives force to this point in his introduction of his *History of the Catholic Church in Colonial Days*: "The Catholic Church is the oldest organization in the United States, and the only one that has retained the same life and polity and form through each succeeding age. Her history is interwoven in the whole fabric of the country's annals. . . . No other institution can trace back an origin in all the nationalities that once controlled the portions of North America now subject to the laws of the Republic." Later on, while writing his *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, our first Bishop, Shea went further: "The Catholic Church is a fact and factor in the life of our Republic. . . . The influence of such a body, regarding only those who maintain the faith, unison in creed, worship, discipline, religious thought and impulse, upon the country and its future, is certainly worthy of thought and consideration." There has been a tendency among all too many historians to minimize the factors in the growth of the American Church from the scant thirty thousand of Archbishop Carroll's time to the twenty-five million of our own day. This is not the place to conjecture what would have happened to the Church, had there been no immigration to these shores, but one finds real comfort in the words of our classic American historian of Christian expansion, Kenneth Scott Latourette: "In the United States the Roman Catholic Church was not only more diversified racially than any other country in Europe. It also contained more different rites than

any one European land or city except Rome. Into it flowed strains from almost every branch of the Roman Catholic Church. It was more inclusive than any national church had ever been."

It is, therefore, to the glory of our Church in America that she is the same divine emissary which welded the Latin, the Gaul, the Frank and the Briton and the Norman into the nation of France, the Briton, the Saxon, the Dane and the Norman into the nation of England, that she, in spite of stress within and storms without, has welded these most divergent national families among her children into one American Church, loyal to this nation and to the universal Church of twenty centuries. And in all this nation building the procession of American Cardinals has been both the example and the exponent.

There is a danger, in such a paper as this, that it might be a current example of Henry Adams' definition of history as "a catalogue of the forgotten", with an over-emphasis on the catalogue and very little revelation of the forgotten. Perhaps we shall fare better if we follow the advice that Cromwell once gave to an artist who had painted his picture, without the warts which marked the face of the Lord Protector: "Paint me as I am, warts and all." If we do just this in our chronicle of the American Cardinals, we shall have less catalogue and more history.

Felicitously, this very month of October, the Archdiocese of Boston celebrates the sesquicentennial of the arrival on its shores of that exile of the French Revolution, Father Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus, who only fourteen years later became the first Bishop of what was then the stronghold of Puritanism. Cheverus was destined to be the first Bishop who had served in an American See to be elevated to the Sacred College, for, after his recall to France, he was later raised to that dignity as the Archbishop of Bordeaux, in 1836. That ever active nemesis of history links him forever with New York, not only because, in our time, a son of his Boston See guides our spiritual destiny, but also because Cheverus himself was the Apostolic Administrator of this diocese. We had been a widowed Church, here in New York, since the death of our first Bishop, Richard Luke Concanen, who never arrived here, and only lately our second Bishop John Connolly

had been consecrated in Rome. So it was that, on Ascension Day, May 4, 1815, Bishop Cheverus of Boston came to New York to dedicate what is now our Old Cathedral of St. Patrick down on Mulberry Street. In his own little city of Boston, with its two hundred Catholics and one church, the great John Adams had only recently declared that the worst tyranny ever invented by the genius of Toryism was Catholicism, but the sprightly eloquence of Cheverus, as he looked around our monument of Gothic, wafted itself on the wings of decades to a descendant of the noble John, one Henry Adams, who, "running madly through the centuries", called a halt, as Van Wyck Brooks says, at an age that he had known from the beginning and that had come to seem to him a symbol of the believing community in which he had lived to some effect, the thirteenth century. Even the noble John admitted to like thoughts when he attended the "Romish Chapel" in Philadelphia during the Continental Congress.

As the future Cardinal Cheverus spoke, a little boy of five, named John McCloskey, was probably playing around his Brooklyn home. It was as if this dedicatory service was being performed for one future Cardinal by another. In that same Cathedral, John McCloskey was ordained the first secular priest from the State of New York. There, ten years later, this son of Irish immigrants was consecrated bishop by an immigrant, John Hughes, and there, too, on April 27, 1875, Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley of Baltimore, another native son of New York and a former Episcopalian minister of St. Peter's, Harlem, imposed on John McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, the first Red Hat to be worn by a Bishop of an American diocese. (Canada had its first Cardinal in 1887, South America in 1905.) Archbishop Bayley, whose remains rest alongside Mother Seton, his aunt, could claim an American ancestry reaching deep into colonial days. There was, therefore, an added significance in the remarks he made to the new Cardinal on his throne in the Old Cathedral: "It is right and proper that we should have a representative among the intimate councillors of the Holy Father. There is nothing anomalous or contrary to the principles of our Republic that we should have in our midst a Cardinal of the Holy Church,

and we are confident that your appointment will continue to be regarded, as it is now regarded, a new element of strength and harmony to all. We congratulate Your Eminence on your appointment to so high an office. It will increase your cares and responsibilities, but will also increase your means of usefulness as an honored citizen of the republic and a faithful bishop of the Church of God." A Roman newspaper of the day caught the point: "Not only Archbishop McCloskey is it that the Holy Father thus seeks to honor. In the elevation to the greatest dignity of the Church he intends, first and foremost, to reward him; but none the less, likewise to honor the great, generous and faithful America."

In the ecclesiastical firmament, America had come of age, come of age in the person of a native son, graduate of an American College, Mount St. Mary's, and first president of another, Fordham. The stream of humble sons rising to the leadership of the Republic of the Church had begun.

Yet, in the intervening years, Rome's stamp of approval had been placed not only on Cheverus but also on another prelate, who suffered more indignity from America than any Catholic bishop in the history of colonial and national times. As Monsignor Guilday says, "there is no doubt that the Bedini incident is a blot on the diplomatic history of the United States." Coming as a papal envoy to the United States, at a time when Lewis Cass was our American representative at the Papal Court of Pius IX, Archbishop Bedini spent the seven months of his stay here, during 1853 and 1854, as the victim of violent animosity. Ray Allen Billington notes in his admirable *The Protestant Crusade* (p. 303) that "Bedini's disastrous visit was principally important for the physical violence which it inspired", for all the anti-Catholic animosity coming out of colonial times, the flood of foul literature stemming from the *Awful Disclosure of Maria Monk*, the movements of Native Americanism and Know Nothingism, joined forces with exiled Italian and German revolutionaries to give the Pope's ambassador a thoroughly erroneous impression of the land of religious freedom. We may hope that the future Cardinal formed a better judgment from a poem read to him at Georgetown by a fifteen year old boy, Charles Randall, who would immortalize himself as the author of *Maryland, My Maryland*:

"I thank my God! Columbia's sons are free
From this reproach! God grant they'll ever be!

.....
The rabble crew who thus have stained our sod
Are stranger born, are recreant to their God,
A plague spot of this land they'll ever be,
Who 'neath a mask pretend to liberty!"

Another Cardinal would write one day that "bigotry is un-American" and this must have been the impression made on Cardinal Bedini, for the most pleasant and important denouement to his visit was the part he played in founding our North American College in Rome. Opened December 8, 1859, it was the envoy whom the American rabble had so mistreated that led our first American students into this new national college, and tradition has it that for some days before he had been seen on his hands and knees, divested of his purple, scrubbing the sanctuary floor of the chapel. Six of the alumni of this College have been among the American Cardinals, and its very foundation was another proof that the American Church was coming to its maturity.

Back in 1835 the young Father McCloskey had arrived in Rome and he was destined to be the only alumnus of its Jesuit Gregorian University to become an American Cardinal. Once he wrote to a friend: "Each day (in Rome) affords new sources of pleasure and an intellectual banquet, of which one can never partake to satiety. . . . Oh, what cannot one enjoy who comes to this great classic and holy city with a mind prepared to appreciate its historic and religious charms!" In those days, indeed until 1908, America was considered a mission country, and its students in Rome always made their studies at the Urban College of Propaganda, even though, after 1859, they had their spiritual formation at the North American College. Father Benedict Joseph Fenwick, the second Bishop of Boston, who was a curate at St. Peter's in Barclay Street when Cheverus dedicated St. Patrick's, sent two full blooded American Indians to the College of Propaganda from the New England missions.

This link with the missionary arm of the Holy See, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, should not be lost on American Catholics, who today are asked to launch out on the greatest

missionary endeavor in the history of the Church. The funds of its mission aid, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, have been bountifully lavished on us, and the students of its mission university have come, over the decades, to form our priesthood.

It was with the approbation of Propaganda that another future Cardinal came to labor in the mission diocese of Charleston. Curiously enough Ignatius Cardinal Persico, one of eight Capuchins to be raised to the dignity in the four centuries of the Order, had already been a missionary bishop in India. Yet he came here as a simple missionary and only later was made Bishop of Savannah. So he shares with Cheverus the honor of being another Cardinal who served for a time in an American See.

To the honor of the religious orders who, in our colonial history, had helped to adorn hundreds of towns, rivers and lakes in this country with the names of our saints and had spilled their blood in torrents for the Faith, honorable mention must also go to Joseph Cardinal Vives Y Tuto, also a Capuchin, who made his religious profession at Calvary, Wisconsin; to Camillo Cardinal Mazzella, the Jesuit, who taught at our oldest Catholic College, Georgetown, and at Woodstock; to Diomedes Cardinal Falconio, the Franciscan, who was ordained a priest in the Cathedral of Buffalo, was president of St. Bonaventure's College at the age of twenty-six—probably the youngest College president in American history—and even labored here in New York, in the parish of St. Anthony of Padua, down on Sullivan Street. He was our third Apostolic Delegate, and to him goes the distinction of being our first American Cardinal in the Roman Curia, for he had become a citizen of the United States during his years here as a missionary. The Order of St. Augustine also gains representation among our adopted American Cardinals in their Prior General, our second Apostolic Delegate, Sebastian Cardinal Martinnelli, who, we are told, spoke English with an Irish brogue because of his long association with brother Irishmen in their House of Studies at Rome.

When one speaks of the Apostolic Delegates of the Holy Father to our country, all five of whom have become Cardinals, not only the American Catholic layman but even the priest marvels at the

mood of the period in which Pope Leo XIII decided to send his special representative to our hierarchy. Not that previous Popes had not thought of the possibility, for our government had normal diplomatic relations with the government of Pope Pius IX, and there was a serious consideration of the matter of sending a papal nuncio here. Over the years men like Bedini and Persico were considered temporary delegates. The thunderous, though priestly, Bishop McQuaid of Rochester said some not too mild things about the latter's mission. Still the time was long overdue for a regular representation, whereby closer ties could be established with the Holy See. The American Church, by the 1890's, had grown in great leaps, and now the very magnitude of its endeavor demanded a delegation.

The man chosen was himself possessed of many ties with the American Church. This great exponent of the Thomistic revival, Archbishop Francis Satolli, had already taught many American priests at the University of Propaganda—two of them, Cardinals O'Connell and Dougherty, were destined for the Roman purple. He had become more familiar with us when he came to the Columbian Exposition in 1892, so he seemed the perfect choice when Leo XIII designated him in 1893 as the first Apostolic Delegate. What times they were! We were in our adolescence and the growing pains were frightful.

The American Church had its new Catholic University now. In years to come our own Cardinal Hayes would be its Cardinal alumnus. The Public School Question had grown to giant proportions since the days of Archbishop Hughes. Cahenslyism, with its charge that the Church in the United States had squandered millions of immigrants and had not assimilated them in the faith, was very rife. Here in New York our own Archbishop Corrigan was confronted with the McGlynn case, dividing loyalties and puzzling the country at large. It was historically stormy weather for the new delegate of the Pope, but let this be said, as we look back on the half century since Archbishop Satolli's coming: The resolve of the great Leo has drawn us even closer to the Chair of Peter, and those who have sat on that exalted throne have not been wanting in bestowing on our delegates the sacred purple,

which we may pardonably consider as an honor to our own nation.

I shall not further weary you with an account of these adopted sons. You may find an extensive account of them in the valuable work, *Twenty-four American Cardinals* by Brendan A. Finn. After Cardinal Satolli, there were Martinelli, Falconio, Bonzano, even more endeared to us as the Papal Legate to our first International Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, and Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, now the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, and in addition, Cardinals Sbarette, Ceretti, and Marchetti, the present Vicar of Rome, who served as auditors of the Delegation.

When Archbishop Satolli came to America he found only one Cardinal, James Cardinal Gibbons, our second native son. McCloskey had long since passed away. He had adorned the honor with a quiet dignity which had won the heart of Pius IX during the Vatican Council of 1870. Our measure of a man, any man, is his alertness to his times. Cardinal McCloskey was, by this measure, a man of Providence. America was in transition. A Civil War had been fought and reconstruction was the order of the day when John McCloskey succeeded John Hughes in this See. Archbishop Hughes had fought a turbulent fight, but now to rule, meant to be patient. Father Hewitt, the Paulist, drew a comparison between the two men, which seems very fair: "During (Archbishop Hughes') time of warfare, he wielded the battle axe of Coeur de Lion, while his successor (Cardinal McCloskey), whose characteristics were in marked contrast, was more like Saladin, whose light weapon cuts the lace veil with sure and graceful stroke." I believe that McCloskey's greatest fight came in his young priesthood, when he was sent down to St. Joseph's in Waverly Place to break the back of its trusteeism, and anyone who reads the closely written pages of his Sunday sermons there, as they are still to be found in the Archives of Dunwoodie Seminary, will not need to marvel how their supreme priestliness, the infallible touchstone of success, so captivated a hostile people as to make them more than loath to see him go, even though for months he had preached to almost empty pews. His greatest triumph came when he dedicated the new Cathedral of St. Patrick and put into that monument of New York's Catholicity

a sermon in stone, which preaches to us every day our debt to men like him.

James Cardinal Gibbons was different and yet he was the same. Allen Sinclair Will, author of his life, was privileged beyond all American ecclesiastical biographers, in that for years, from 1909 to 1921, he sat at the feet of the second native American Cardinal and painted his literary portrait. He was Boswell, without the accompanying Johnsonian vituperation, and he gives us the many-sided facets of a cardinalitial career that extended from 1887 to 1921. Gibbons' own opinion of the Cardinalate was completely revealed in his address, here in New York, on the occasion of the elevation of Archbishop Farley: "It is not the Cardinalate that ennobles the man; it is the man that ennobles the Cardinalate."

It is not too bold to say that he established a pattern which every succeeding American Cardinal has faithfully followed. When he received the announcement from Rome, the American Church had given many signs of her vital place in the picture of the World Church. There had been six provincial and three plenary Councils of Baltimore, each succeeding one showing more bishops present from more new sees, as the Church kept pace with the expanding Union. American bishops had attended, for the first time in Church History, a General Council, and Gibbons, at the Vatican Council as its youngest Bishop, was also destined to be its last living Father. America had become an industrial giant, and the floodgates of immigration were still open wide.

Volumes have been written on the activities of this eminent man, whose priestly career spanned both the Civil War and World War I, but I have always been intrigued by his own introduction to his *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, written towards the close of his life. He ends that introductory chapter with characteristic accuracy of judgment: "My countrymen and my fellow Catholics will forgive me if I seem to yearn over this Church and this people but I do so because I believe both the American Church and the American people to be precious in the sight of God and designed, each one in its proper sphere, for a glorious future." "When I was young," he wrote, "men feared the Catholic Church because they thought her foreign and un-American. Yet I have lived to

see her children and their children's children acknowledge that if the different nations which have come to our shores have been united into one people, and if today there is an American people, it is largely owing to the cohesive and consolidating influence of the Christian religion of our ancestors." His essay, a famous one indeed, on which a Catholic candidate for the Presidency would later draw, on "The Church and the Republic", he includes in this *Retrospect*: "Sixteen millions of Americans live their lives on our land with undisturbed belief in the perfect harmony existing between their religion and their duties as American citizens. It never occurs to their minds to question the truth of a belief experience confirms. Love of religion and love of country burn together in their hearts." Certainly the author of *The Faith of Our Fathers*, unflinching in his defense of truth, did more than any single churchman to make the Church a respected and not a suspected institution in these United States.

But, when all this is forgotten and the day of religion-baiting will, we pray, have gone from our land, the name of Gibbons will be remembered in an industrial America for his defense of the Knights of Labor. When he went to Rome in 1887 to receive the Red Hat, he also went to plead the cause of organized labor before Pope Leo XIII, and what a ready ear was that of the author of *Rerum Novarum*: "It was just at the time when I was made a Cardinal by Pope Leo XIII that the rise of the Labor Unions in America brought about what might have been a crisis in the life of the American Church. For some years the Church stood at the crossroads. It had to choose between allying itself with what looked like elements of disaster and revolution, or consenting to a theory of economics which could not be justified on Christian principles. The duty had been laid on it of preserving society, the rights of property, and at the same time of protecting the rights of individuals to the fruits of their labors: also of protecting the poor from encroachment of uncontrolled capital. . . . Leo XIII has settled forever in his wonderful encyclical *Rerum Novarum* the principles of economics which are alone consonant with the Gospel. It seemed as if in taking the course which some of us took . . . we were destroying the Church's reputation for

conservatism as well as her usefulness as a conserver of society; that we Bishops of the Church of God were making of ourselves demagogues and the harbingers of the 'Red Revolution'."

The venerable Cardinal was an octogenarian in 1919, when the Bishops wrote a social manifesto which will forever mark the American Church as conscious of the justice due to her children. He had gone manfully through a World War, and he was about to close the "golden age of Gibbons". If I have dwelt at some length on his career, it is because I have wished to make him an archetype of every succeeding American Cardinal. In his lifetime, in 1911, our own Cardinal Farley and Cardinal O'Connell, the first Cardinal of Boston, had been elevated. On his death, in 1921, Philadelphia was honored with its first, Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, also the first of our Cardinals to occupy a diocese abroad, in the Philippines. Three years later, those two sons of the lower East Side, Cardinal Hayes and Mundelein, increased the number of America's cardinalitial sons to seven. With Chicago so honored, the territory of the thirteen original colonies was no longer the heartland, and the procession that began with New York's McCloskey, when Chicago was not yet an archdiocese, and mission territories, Vicariates Apostolic, lay further beyond, now moved out across the Alleghenies, and who can know of its stopping places in the years to come?

What years these were! They were the years between *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. They marked the passage from Socialism to Communism, Fascism and Nazism. They were the awful years that saw two excruciating World Wars and yet they have been thrilling years in which to live. Pope Pius XI, who almost at the point of death said that he would gladly give his life for the peace of the world, also boasted that he would not have liked to live in other times. This, our twentieth century, finds the Church of Archbishop John Carroll, which with its scant thirty thousand Catholics was scattered throughout the thirteen colonies, now the strongest Catholic unit in the world, with worthy representation in all the forty-eight States of the Union. Even before the covered wagon began its imperial trek over the Alleghenies, our Bishops and priests were standing on the thresholds

of rude cabin chapels in mission territories, not yet a part of this democratic Empire. They were the lone sentinels of a supra-national empire over souls, and they were ambassadors of a unity which would forge the future free states into one, indivisible union. Their names will be forgotten, when the Cardinals' names will be remembered, but they were the apostolic foundation of all this present glory. Who can say that men like Archbishop Carroll and all these frontier bishops, or a pioneer in Americanism like Archbishop Hughes, would not have been enrolled in the Sacred College, given other times for the settings of their lives, or who would be niggardly with the vision of those patriot priests of the West and their march to eminence, if God had not set their priestly lives down in a virgin wilderness? Thousands of priests in America have lived and will continue to live their apostolic ministry out of the full light of ecclesiastical preferment, but each of these has known that the individuals on whom Rome has fondly looked, are the embodiment of their zeal.

Every Cardinal in our history was himself a parish priest in some diocese of our nation. Although subtracted from that ideal closeness with our people, which is the yearning of every priest, and forced to take on the never pleasant trappings of ruling others, our American Cardinals have ultimately returned to this ideal, for they have been made Cardinal Priests of the Holy Roman Church, parish priests of the Eternal City, pastors of its souls. This is what the future John Cardinal Glennon sensed when he spoke at the Golden Jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons' priestly life: "There have been great Cardinals in the centuries that have gone—Wolsey, Richelieu—but the opportunity of their greatness arose in part at least from the union of Church and State that then existed and history tells us that they served their king with far more zeal than they served their God. We have had great Cardinals in modern times—Wiseman, Manning, Newman—and again, in part, their greatness came from the noble defense they made of a Church that was persecuted. We may not deny their greatness, their learning, their consecration; but unlike any one member of either group, our Cardinal stands with the same devotion to his country as Richelieu had for France, cultivating a citizenship as

unrestrained as Newman, and while reaching out to a broader democracy than even Cardinal Manning, he still remains pre-eminent in his unquestioned devotion to Holy Church." These words could be spoken of each of our eleven native American Cardinals.

February 21, 1946, will be chronicled as epoch making in the history of the Roman Catholic Church and of the world. When the elect of all the continents walked toward the throne of the Holy Father to receive the Red Hat, everyone of us present knew that even the splendid pageantry could not obscure the lesson to be learned. At the end of hostilities stemming from the terrible scourge of World War II tried spiritual leaders were being more intimately enlisted in the Pope's unending campaign to lead men along the pathways of peace. Not since July 1, 1517, in the pontificate of Leo X, had so many Cardinals been elevated, and now the present ceremony was really an enrollment of the world. The Council of Trent had directed that Cardinals be chosen from every nation that had come of age, and this the Church was faithfully doing. Pope Pius XII was moving fearlessly with the vast upheavals of history: "As for the first time," he said, "the very worthy sons selected from the five parts of the world are members of the Roman Clergy and are decorated with the honor of the sacred keys, the well-known universality of the Church is placed in a new light. This Church does not belong to one race or to one people or nation, but to all peoples of the human family."

This universality is only another name for true democracy and the four sons of America, with its medley of the adopted sons of every nation, living in harmony under the one flag, each of them an humble parish priest of the people, each of them completing in his own life the ecclesiastical cycle of Lincoln, were worthy members of this new representative Senate of the world. John Cardinal Glennon of St. Louis, for fifty years the oracle of the West; Edward Cardinal Mooney of Detroit, who, as the first American to be a delegate of the Holy See, serving in India and Japan, had broken another frontier; Samuel Cardinal Stritch of Chicago, who had risen to that great See from the obscurity of a missionary priest in the South; Francis Cardinal Spellman.

We who were privileged to look on the event in St. Peter's on that day, last February, thought how true were the words of the fifth century poet, Rutilianus: "Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat!" "You have made a city of what was once a world!" Loud and long was the applause in the great Roman Basilica, as each new Cardinal received the insignia of his office, but none of them could boast of the ovation received by our own beloved Archbishop of New York. Every continent could claim him, for the war years had seen him fearlessly pursuing his mission of mercy to the ends of the earth. St. Peter's was his home. Here he had been consecrated Bishop—the first American Cardinal so honored, although four others had been consecrated in Rome—in its shadow he had labored as the first American attache to the Holy See. Its every stone repeated the sermon of his life, its twin fountains were running brooks of his memories.

From it he had returned to his own diocese of Boston, and then he had made the journey of Cheverus to New York. Head of the greatest of metropolitan Sees, he had caught the spirit of its teeming millions and the meaning of its melting pot. Father of the poor and lover of his brethren, he had been the bearer of Christ's merciful kindness to combatants and innocents on land and sea. He would return to New York from the cradle of his priestly memories amid the plaudits of a grateful world to preach to his flock at the first Mass he attended in his Cathedral, on the text: "I am the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd giveth his life for His sheep." With that deep sense of history, with which he has been blessed, the new Cardinal gave us a summary of the place that every Cardinal has occupied in our history; "I well realize that presently these garments of honor, which I wear and which I received from another, will be placed away to await another wearer. It is of that hour that I think today, when the eyes of the eternal Good Shepherd shall be fixed upon my soul—and I stand before God to render an account of my stewardship. Let us work and pray that when that moment comes to each of us, Christ will find His image untarnished and brilliantly shining on our souls."

One can make history, while another writes it. Francis Cardinal

Spellman has already taken his place among the great Church leaders of all time. We have seen many "famous firsts" among those Americans who received the sacred Roman purple, but who will compare them with his heroic history, throbbing with breath-taking exploits? And behind this, his historic sense has prompted him to perpetuate our local New York history in imperishable monuments of stone, the Bishop Dubois High School, the Cardinal McCloskey Home, the Archbishop Corrigan Library, the Cardinal Farley Academy, the Cardinal Hayes High School, so that every New Yorker can understand his heritage.

Meanwhile, he has written history, contributing his due share among the fifteen books produced by our American Cardinals. His books and articles will remain as a written record of the World War and its accompanying tragedies. Nor will that indefatigable pen be laid down, for he knows that history, too, is a philosophy of life, teaching by examples. You may say that all these words are eulogy not history, but I am sure that you will agree with me that good history is always eulogy. Parish priest, papal ambassador, princely prelate of the diocesan flock, "khaki-Christ", truest of Americans, acutely alert to his times, humble son of humble parents, the royal robes of the Roman Senate now clothe Francis Joseph Spellman and crown a career that is a summary of the history of the Cardinals of our country. The man has always ennobled the Cardinal. The future remains for other historians to chronicle, but we shall make our heartfelt desire the augury of the history our Eminent Shepherd is yet to make in the all too uncertain years ahead: *Ad multos plurimosque annos!*

GROWING PAINS IN THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH*

1880-1908

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I

NATIONALISM RAMPANT: IRISH VERSUS GERMAN

THREE decades in the history of the United States, lying between the dates 1880 and 1910, provide the historian with an amazing array of paradoxes. Greed and philanthropy, poverty and riches, power and weakness co-existed and intermingled in bewildering confusion. The United States became a great power while its people still feared foreign encroachments. Statesmen preached good government while politicians practiced corruption and bribery on a huge scale. Philanthropists built public libraries while their hired company police shot down striking workers. These were tumultuous decades. Great leaders appeared in all fields. Although frequently diametrically opposed to one another in principle, they had certain characteristics in common. They were men of determination. They held positive opinions, and believed in the righteousness of the causes they supported. Sincerity and bluntness were the hallmarks of their actions. The methods they used to achieve their ends were positive, and frequently crude. These were the sons of a growing, expanding nation. Among them were Harriman, Powderly, Carnegie, Altgeld, Hill, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Tom Johnson, Ida Tarbell, Sherman, Bryan, Rockefeller, Debs, Morgan, Sinclair. Built to the same pattern were other Americans, likewise the sons of their environment—John Ireland, Michael Corrigan, James Gibbons, and Bernard McQuaid.

Phenomenal growth, sudden expansion, and tremendous power bred strains and stresses of great significance in American national

*This is the series of "Meehan Lectures", inaugurated by the Society as an annual event. A further description will be found under "Notes and Comments".—Editor.

life. In short, the United States came of age during these years. Growing up is not an easy process for individuals. It is no less difficult for states. Perhaps no nation in history changed so radically in so short a time as did the United States during these years. What was true of the nation as a whole was no less true of the American Catholic Church as a part of the whole. The Church too grew and expanded at a remarkable rate. She, too, had her forceful leaders. She, too, underwent the strains and stresses occasioned by her altered circumstances. Throughout the term of her previous existence she had been classified as a "missionary church", and had been administered from Rome by the Congregation of the Propaganda. During this period she outgrew that status, which fact was recognized in 1908 when her "missionary" character was changed by papal separation of American ecclesiastical affairs from the jurisdiction of Propaganda. Thereafter all American contacts with Rome were maintained directly with the papal Secretariat of State.

The "growing pains" of the Church during this period were many, yet no one of them was totally unrelated to the others. They were various aspects of one great central problem. That problem was how to make the American Church conform to the society of which it was an integral part without destroying its union with Rome and without doing damage to the seamless fabric of the Faith. American Catholics and their leaders wished to be good Americans and good Catholics. Further than that, they wished to demonstrate to their fellow-citizens of other religious persuasions that loyalty to Rome in spiritual matters did not impair in any way their loyalty to the United States in matters purely temporal. Church historians have given the name "Americanism" to this general problem. But the whole problem is so complex, and possesses so many varied aspects that such a term is not very descriptive.

Be that as it may, there were three chief branches to the one great problem of "Americanism". There were the administrative question, the political question, and the doctrinal question.¹

¹Much of the material used in this article is drawn from a number of recent periodical publications on the subject, notably Thomas T. McAvoy,

The administrative question involved the character and direction of ecclesiastical control of the American Church. It came to a head in the form of a sharp contest within the hierarchy and priesthood in the early 1890's that divided Church authorities into two camps. One group demanded adaptation of Church administration to American customs, and feared domination of American ecclesiastical affairs by Europeans. The other group feared that "Americanization" of the Church in this sense would weaken dangerously the ties with Rome, and might result in the loss of faith by American Catholics.

The political problem centered upon the relationship in this country of State and Church, particularly with reference to the school question. There were significant matters of faith and administration, as well as of politics, involved in the school question and its settlement. This was in its essence the problem of parochial versus public schools.

The doctrinal problem came to a head in Europe, where a sharp controversy over the alleged heretical character of certain American teachings in matters of faith called finally for the definitive intervention of the Holy Father. It might not be amiss to point out that today, while American control of the American Church is an established fact nationalistic administrative problems still arise, and the school problem is by no means permanently solved. At the risk of being indiscreet, it may also be suggested that there are in other countries individuals in communion with Rome who still look askance at the character of American Catholicism, and who have their private doubts as to the complete orthodoxy of our beliefs and practices.

"Irish-German" antipathies in the 1880's and 90's created an intangible feeling of antagonism between these two national groups within the American Church. Historical honesty requires recognition of the fact that this antipathy had its origin with the

"Americanism and Frontier Catholicism", in *Review of Politics*, V, (July, 1943), 275-301; "Americanism, Fact and Fiction", in *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXI (July, 1945), 133-153; Vincent F. Holden, "A Myth in 'L'Americanisme'," in *ibid.*, 154-170; John J. Meng, "Cahenslyism: The First Stage, 1883-1891," in *id.*, XXXI (January, 1946), 389-413; "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891-1910, in *id.*, XXXII (October, 1946), 302-340.

clergy rather than among the laity. It is further true that labeling the nationalistic conflict "Irish-German" constitutes an historical inaccuracy. The real issue lay between foreign language groups in general, and English-speaking elements within the Church. The flood-tide of immigration, which brought great numbers of Catholics to America during these critical years, created a phenomenal growth in the Church. The two principal immigrant groups were the Irish and the Germans. Quite erroneously, English-speaking Catholics in general were identified as "Irish", in contradistinction to the foreign-language elements called "German", with equal inaccuracy. It was of course true that the majority of Catholic names among the English-speaking group were Irish by origin or derivation, and that the most vocal national group among the foreign-language Church members was German. Nevertheless, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, French Canadians, and others were parties to the conflict of nationalities within the Church at this time.

The assimilation of foreign nationalities into the American culture pattern during the years of great immigration presented a set of major problems to the United States as a nation. Catholics were by no means alone in facing these problems. Natives of foreign lands, coming to a country far removed both culturally and geographically from their homelands, frequently resisted assimilation. American national welfare, on the other hand, required that these people be incorporated into the body politic in an orderly fashion, that they become loyal American citizens, that, in short, they exchange their old nationalities for a new set of loyalties.

It would be interesting to investigate the attitude of the European immigrant towards the land of his adoption at this period. All that can be done here is to suggest that, to the more thoughtful strangers coming to our shores, America did not appear to possess anything which could be called an "American nationality". The European areas from which the immigrants came were countries with age-old traditions and customs. The lines of nationality that distinguished German from Frenchman, and Italian from Spaniard were distinct and sharply drawn. But the United States

was composed of peoples from every land under the sun. Its customs were a hodgepodge of the national usages of various countries and climes. The immigrant might be forgiven for believing that literally there was no such thing as an "American nationality". For this reason, many newcomers clung to their own pattern of life with great tenacity, feeling it inadvisable to surrender ancient customs in exchange for a bewildering array of new and untried ways.

Conflict between the national welfare of the American State and the resistance to change shown by the immigrant groups was inevitable. As far as the Catholic Church was concerned, this problem was not new in the 1880's. Difficulties with national groups occurred very early. These problems first assumed major importance with the development of a struggle for control of Church administration in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Specifically, foreign language groups began to demand a greater degree of ecclesiastical autonomy within the American Church.

The demand for autonomy was spearheaded by the German-Americans. German immigrants to this country demonstrated at an early date a high degree of attachment to their traditional culture patterns, and a more-than-usual unwillingness to adopt American manners wholeheartedly. Catholic Germans were no different than Germans of other religious faiths. It is not possible here to investigate the entire development of the demand for ecclesiastical self-government within the Catholic communion. In 1883 and 1884, however, there occurred an intensification of the problem, particularly in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, where large numbers of Germans had settled.

Eighty-two St. Louis German priests, with the approval of their vicar general, Very Reverend Henry Muehlsiepen, submitted to Propaganda in 1884 a petition asking for correction of what they considered inequities in the administration of their archdiocese. This particular petition was received in Rome, but no favorable action was taken upon it. Its very presentation, however, was sufficient to arouse the antagonism of non-German members of the American hierarchy. Bishops Richard Gilmour of Cleveland and John Moore of St. Augustine were moved by it to prepare

a lengthy memorial for Propaganda attacking the German claim of ecclesiastical discrimination. They asserted that German-American Catholics were attempting to Germanize the Church in the United States.² This was in 1885. A year later, in November, 1886, the Rev. P. M. Abbelen, later Vicar-General of the diocese of Milwaukee, with the approval of his ordinary, Archbishop Heiss, submitted to Propaganda a long statement which purported to lay bare the unjust restrictions imposed upon the German Catholic minority in the United States by the Irish Catholic majority. In conclusion the memorial petitioned the Holy See to do a number of things to reform Church administration in the United States. German churches, and those of all other nationalities

shall be placed on an equal footing with the English (Irish) and shall be entirely independent of them. . . . All immigrants from Europe to be assigned to the church of their own language. . . . Let Bishops and priests be admonished . . . not . . . to seek to suppress and root out the language, the manners, the customs, the usages and the devotional practices of the Germans. . . . Let Bishops who are ignorant of the German language, and who govern mixed dioceses, be obliged besides an Irish Vicar-General, to nominate also a German.

Abbelen's petition undoubtedly contained a number of justified complaints, but it erred on one serious point. The identification of "Irish" with American called forth a searing blast of criticism from two members of the American hierarchy who happened to be in Rome at the time the petition was presented. Bishops John Ireland of St. Paul and John Keane of Richmond were negotiating with Propaganda concerning problems involved in the establishment of the Catholic University of America. Upon hearing of the German manoeuver they delivered, on December 6, 1886, a long memorial to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, in which they scored as untrue the claim that there existed any serious problem between German and Irish Catholics in the United States. "The only question that can be considered," they wrote, "is . . . the question between the English language, which is the language

²*Memoriale sulla questione dei Tedeschi nella Chiesa di America* (*Denkschrift über die deutsche Frage in der Kirche Amerikas*) (N.p., 1885).

of the United States, and the German language, which emigrants from Germany have brought to the United States." They further asserted that the Abbelen petition was engineered in secrecy, without the knowledge of any but a few of the German-American members of the hierarchy. It was no understatement for Ireland and Keane to write: "When the knowledge of this secret movement shall have come to them, the Bishops of the United States will be exceedingly indignant." In another portion of the memorial they added: "we have evidence to prove that among certain German bishops and priests there is a conspiracy followed up by systematic plans and efforts incessantly made, to extend the German episcopate over the entire United States."³

Members of the American hierarchy were indeed incensed when they learned by cable from Ireland and Keane of the action taken in Rome by Father Abbelen. The archbishops of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston met at Philadelphia on December 16, 1886, and instructed Archbishop Corrigan of New York to send off a refutation of the German statements "by the morrow's steamer."⁴ Archbishop William H. Elder of Cincinnati, Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, and others cabled or wrote their opposition to Propaganda.⁵ Bishop Gilmour's letter, dated December 26, 1886, was typical of their reaction. He wrote, in part:

³An extremely small edition of the Abbelen memorial, together with the objections of Ireland, Keane, and other American prelates, was published in pamphlet form under the title *Relatio de quaestione Germanica in Statibus Foederatis a Rev. P. M. Abbelen, Sac. Milw. conscripta, a Rmo. et Illmo. M. Heiss, Archiep. Milwauk., approbata, et Sacrae Congr. de Propaganda Fide mense Novembri 1886, submissa. Sequuntur objectiones plurimorum Remorum Praesulum eidem S. Congr. propositae, e lingua Gallica in Anglicam translatae*. Copies of this rare item are almost non-existent, although one example of it is known to exist in the archives of the Archdiocese of Boston. A complete reprinting of the pamphlet, with the addition of an English translation of the Abbelen memorial was included in the *New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, LIII, nos. 45, 46 (Dec. 24, 31, 1892). First public reference to the pamphlet was a summary of its contents printed in *The Catholic Review*, N. Y., XL, no. 2 (July 11, 1891), 18, 31. *The New York Times* likewise printed a summary of it on Dec. 12, 1892. A large portion of Ireland's and Keane's letter was printed in English translation in *The Independent*, N. Y., Jan. 14, 1897.

⁴A. S. Will, *The Life of Cardinal Gibbons* (N. Y., 2 v., 1922), I, 521, quoting Cardinal Gibbons' journal.

⁵Zwierlein, III, 41-42; Daniel F. Reilly, *The School Controversy (1891-1893)* (Washington, 1943), 61-62.

The efforts made to obtain special favors for the Germans appear to us as a very serious menace; their being made without the knowledge of the bishops . . . furnishes us with the proof that they dare not discuss openly in America their preposterous claims . . . it is false to say they have been neglected. . . . Germans receive far more favors than their talents or their number warrant. . . . Certain German ecclesiastics, with narrow and egotistical views, are the instigators of all this turmoil; the German laity are far from nourishing such a fatuous spirit of nationalism as is found among their priests and prelates.⁶

The German petitioners were left unsatisfied by the action taken by the Holy See.

Reading between the lines of much of the correspondence of the American bishops during this period and the years following, it is evident that one of the divisive factors in the situation was competition for episcopal honors. Ecclesiastical nationalism assumed the appearance of a German-Irish struggle for episcopal place and privilege, although clearly its motivation was not solely personal ambition. Various members of the hierarchy and clergy were sincerely convinced that the future of the American Church and the welfare of souls were intimately involved in the matter. The German-Americans insisted with honest conviction and a great deal of logic that thousands of Catholic immigrants would be lost to the faith unless their religious needs were cared for by prelates and priests who knew their languages and their customs. On the other side was a group that emphasized "Americanization" as the only satisfactory way to effect peaceable integration of the Church into the American milieu.

Reverend John Gmeiner, a priest of Archbishop Ireland's St. Paul diocese, was the author of the first of a long series of pamphlets and articles which became an important part of the controversy. He attacked the Germans as a stubborn foreign group which refused to accept American customs, and threatened to bring another wave of prejudice upon the Church in the United States. He endeavored to explode the claim that German Catholics were unfairly treated.⁷

⁶*The Independent*, January 14, 1897.

⁷*The Church and the Various Nationalities in the United States. Are German Catholics Unfairly Treated?* (Milwaukee, 1887).

The German answer to Gmeiner's pamphlet of 1887 was provided by Reverend Anton H. Walburg of Cincinnati in 1889.⁸ "Nationalism in the Church," wrote Father Walburg, "has always proved disastrous." The nationalism to which he referred was, of course, an American nationalism. The antidote to its development was untrammelled freedom for the various national groups in the maintenance of their own churches and schools. He bestowed some kind words on the Irish contribution to the American church, but saved his choicest encomiums for bestowal upon the Germans. Having outlined the great contribution of the German schools of Cincinnati to the Faith, he asked rhetorically: "Can any Catholic say, Cut down this tree laden with the richest fruit and engraft on it the withered sprig of Americanism? Great God! and Mr. Shea calls this 'the canker eating away the life of the Church'. . . . Denationalization is demoralization. It degrades and debases human nature. A foreigner who loses his nationality is in danger of losing his faith and character." Walburg's strictures on the American way of life were intemperate; his defense of German culture was warm and at the same time odd in view of the *Kulturkampf* from which German Catholics under Bismarck had suffered so much. "The cultivation and exercise of military genius," he wrote, "develops the moral and physical health of a nation, reinvigorates its manhood, and is favorable to greatness. So Germany today bears aloft the torch of learning, and stands foremost in the ranks of civilized nations."

Assertion of the German point of view took another form in the series of annual conferences begun by the Amerikanische-deutschen Priester-Verein in 1887. These conferences were almost immediately accompanied by the establishment of a similar annual German-American Catholic Congress at which leaders of the German-American clergy and laity met in fraternal sessions. The fourth congress, held at Pittsburgh in 1890, devoted a good deal of attention to the problem of foreign-language parochial schools, particularly in Wisconsin, where intense public debate on the subject was currently taking place. According to Father John

⁸*The Question of Nationality in Its Relations to the Catholic Church in the United States* (Cincinnati, 1889).

Conway of St. Paul, editor of Archbishop Ireland's diocesan newspaper, this whole discussion was an outcome of the foreign movement, and part of the conspiracy to Germanize the American Catholic Church.

The problem of national differences had, by the fall of 1890, become a keg of ecclesiastical gunpowder. Harsh words had been used privately by highly-placed prelates against their colleagues in the hierarchy. Priests had bandied implied insults in the public prints. Back of it all was not only the jurisdictional problem of how best to administer the American Church organization, but also the more important problem which deeply and sincerely concerned men of both "parties"—how best to serve the needs of the Catholic laity in order that losses to the Faith should be as small as possible.

A train was being laid to this keg of gunpowder even as the German-Americans met in fraternal amity at Pittsburgh. It was a long train, but none the less effective. Conway believed that it stretched from St. Louis to Europe, and back again—'though he didn't use the metaphor. Whether it was a deliberately-laid train, or was simply one of those careless accidents that bring on dire results need not concern us here.

At Liège, Belgium, in September, 1890, a general European Catholic Congress was being held. During a session devoted to problems of the European emigrant to America, one Abbé Villeneuve of Canada quoted a set of figures. Proof that mathematics is dangerous was quickly forthcoming. The good Abbé claimed that twenty-five million Catholics had entered the United States as immigrants, that the Catholic population of this country in 1890 was slightly over five million, and that the other twenty million Catholics "have turned Protestant or have become indifferent."

This charge provided the excuse for consideration of the problem of losses to the Faith among emigrants going to the United States at a conference held in Lucerne, Switzerland, December 9, 10, 1890. That meeting brought together the representatives of the various national branches of the European St. Raphael's Society, an organization devoted to the protection of Catholic

emigrants. The result of their deliberations was a direct appeal to Rome for an amelioration of those conditions in church administration in the United States which they considered responsible for the tremendous loss of Faith by immigrants to this country. The Marchese Battista G. Volpe-Landi, president of the Italian St. Raphael's Society, and Peter Paul Cahensly, secretary-general of the German central office of the Society, were instructed to submit to the Pope the representations of the conference. The so-called "Lucerne Memorial," destined to be the spark which eventually detonated the ecclesiastical powder-keg in the United States, was the outcome of these appointments. The memorial was drawn up, dated "February, 1891," and taken to Rome by the two appointed delegates of the conference. Cahensly and Volpe-Landi were delayed somewhat in receiving an audience with Leo XIII, but arrangements were finally made for an interview with the Pontiff on April 16. Two days before, on April 14, Volpe-Landi was called away by a death in his family, so that when the date of the audience arrived, Cahensly alone took the Memorial to the Vatican.⁹ The document was signed by ten members of the German St. Raphael's Society, by nine Austrians, seven Belgians, one Swiss, and eight Italians, all men of considerable reputation. It was also approved, through a separate communication, by Premier Mercier of Quebec.

The document itself was based upon the premise that "The losses which the Church has sustained in the United States of North America amount to more than ten millions," a reduction by fifty per cent of the total of losses asserted at Liège. In view of this fact, the Memorial stated, certain steps were essentially necessary in the United States. These included the establishment of separate churches for each nationality; the appointment to these churches of "priests of the same nationality as the faithful";

⁹This chronology of the Memorial is taken from Cahensly's own account, in *Der St. Raphaelsverein zum Schutze Katholischer deutscher Auswanderer. Sein Werden, Wirken und Kämpfen während des 30. jährigen Bestehens erzählt von dessen derzeitigen Präsidenten* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900) [*Charitas-Schriften*, Heft 5], 33-34. With regard to the general aims of the Society see also: P. P. Cahensly, *Die deutschen Auswanderer und der St. Raphael-Verein* (Frankfurt a. M. und Luzern, 1887) [Band VIII, Heft 11, *Frankfurter Zeitgemässe Broschuren*].

the teaching of religion in the national language, even where the numbers of immigrants did not justify separate parishes; the setting up of separate parochial schools "for every nationality"; equal privileges for the "priests of every nationality"; the foundation of various Catholic mutual aid associations; wherever possible, inclusion in the American episcopacy of bishops of every nationality; and Papal encouragement of the training of missionary priests for the United States and of the establishment of St. Raphael's Societies in the various European countries.

First news of the Lucerne memorial to the Vatican was contained in a brief cable despatch from Rome published in the *New York Herald* on May 9, 1891. It inaccurately stated that the document requested the Pope to appoint American bishops representative of the nationalities of the immigrants because "the Irish bishops in the United States only nominate Irish priests, who do not know the languages spoken by the immigrants." Violent exception to this statement was taken by various American Catholic journals. By May 28, when the *New York Herald* published the complete text of the Memorial, the damage had been done. A wave of hysterical abuse was sweeping the editorial columns of the Catholic press.

There is little question that the opponents of the Lucerne Memorial followed the lead of Archbishop John Ireland, the "consecrated blizzard" from St. Paul. The objective of Cahensly and his friends, Ireland told a reporter of the *New York Herald* on May 31, in his usual blunt manner,

is to harness the Church in America into the service of recently arrived immigrants from Germany. . . . We have to note here the actual or assumed ignorance of Mr. Cahensly as to the condition of German speaking Catholics in America. In asserting that they are neglected he does most positive injustice to the bishops of the country. . . . The bishops of America have no more idea of making the Church Irish than they have of allowing it to be made German. . . . What is the most strange feature in this whole Lucerne movement is the impudence of the men in undertaking to meddle, under any pretext, in the Catholic affairs of America. . . . All American Catholics will treasure up the affront for future action. . . . The inspiration of the work in Europe comes, . . .

from a clique in America. . . . I am quite sure I am right when I bring home to this [Deutsch-Amerikanischer Priester] Verein the whole promptings of the Lucerne proceedings. . . . The great mass of German-speaking Catholics, laymen and priests, are totally opposed to all plans and intrigues and are most heartily in sympathy with everything that is American. . . . The promoters of German foreignism in America are certain journalists whose trade is gone if the German language loses its hold, and certain priests who, on coming to America in advanced years, never learn much English and scarcely know that there is in America a country outside the German village or quarter surrounding their parsonage."

The Archbishop enlarged upon these ideas with equal frankness in a second interview granted to an AP correspondent on June 4. He explicitly accepted as true press dispatches cabled from Rome as to the interest taken in the success of the memorial by the Prussian Ambassador to the Holy See, Herr von Schloeser.

While these discussions were getting under way in the United States, European developments were also taking place. If we may believe Cahensly's own account, and there seems no reason to doubt its accuracy, the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, wrote to Cahensly shortly after receipt of the Lucerne Memorial asking for a fuller explanation of the reasons for the requests contained therein. Volpe-Landi and Cahensly obliged by sending to the Cardinal Secretary a second and longer memorial. This second document, Cahensly is careful to indicate, was sent on the personal responsibility of its two signatories, and did not constitute an official communication from the St. Raphael's Societies. It dealt in greater detail with reasons for the earlier requests, and again revised the figures of losses to the Catholic Faith resulting from American neglect of the immigrant. The new statistics claimed to prove that "Catholicity . . . has sustained a net loss of sixteen millions" in the United States. The proposals with regard to the episcopate were made more precise to indicate that what was desired was the establishment of an approximate equal ratio between the size of immigrant groups and national representation in the American hierarchy.¹⁰

¹⁰Cahensly, *Charitas-Schriften*, *op. cit.*, 40-43.

The first hint of the existence of a second memorial reached the United States in an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin dated June 13 reporting an interview with Cahensly. The author of the memorials struck out at his American critics. He denied that he or the St. Raphael's Societies wished to interfere with church administration in the United States, but stated that "It is a well known fact that the Irish in America try to obtain all the bishoprics possible for themselves." Not until July 1 did the *New York Herald* give the text of the memorial itself to the public.

Before that date, however, the controversy had developed to a considerable degree. On June 17 the American Catholic Clerical Union adopted a set of resolutions denouncing the Lucerne Memorial as unwarranted foreign interference, denying the accuracy of its claims of losses, and praising the American hierarchy for its care of the immigrants.¹¹ Viewing the controversy with perhaps greater objectivity than most, John Gilmary Shea lamented in the editorial columns of *The Catholic News*:

A year ago the Catholic body of the United States . . . was made up of devout men of every nation under heaven. Now dissension, jealousy, a spirit of bickering has been aroused which will not easily be banished or allayed. Arch-bishops, Bishops, priests as associated in societies, or individually disclaim any part or responsibility in the Lucerne action, but the evil has been accomplished. . . . The *Herold des Glaubens* says there are American priests in this country who would rather see several million Germans go to hell than forego the opportunity to convert a few hundred Yankees.¹²

The dissension to which Shea referred had perturbed all members of the American hierarchy. The dean of that body, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, held his peace on the matter, publicly at least, until June 28 when, in an interview, he said: "We cannot view without astonishment and indignation a number of self-constituted and officious gentlemen in Europe complaining of the alleged inattention which is paid to the spiritual wants of the

¹¹The text of these resolutions appeared in a number of journals, among them *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, June 20, 1891; and *The Catholic Review*, XL, no. 2 (July 11, 1891), 20. Practically every Catholic newspaper which printed the resolutions gave them also some editorial attention.

¹²June 28, 1891.

foreign population and to the means of redress which they have thought proper to submit to the Holy See." Gibbons emphasized particularly the great amount of consideration that was given by the Church in this country to the welfare of the immigrants.

Rome maintained an attitude of official neutrality, although Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul believed that potent German political forces were successfully bringing pressure to bear on the Vatican in support of the German demands. The Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, sent official notification to Cardinal Gibbons on June 28, 1891, that the Holy See had no intention of acceding to the requests of the St. Raphaels Verein and Cahensly for the appointment of "national" bishops in the United States. Rampolla advised that it would be well for the American hierarchy to hold no special meeting on the subject, but to let the controversy die out of its own accord. Gibbons, in replying to the Secretary's letter, assured him that the hierarchy would hold no meeting, and would be content to rely on the decision of the Holy See.

Hierarchical disapproval was the order of the day where Cahensly was concerned. Even those bishops of German birth or leanings could not approve the methods which their European friends had used, although they might sympathize with some of the objectives sought, and agree with some of the charges made. From the beginning of July until the latter part of August, 1891, the dissensions over the Cahensly memorials seemed to be dissipating themselves.

Appearances were misleading. Monsignor Dennis O'Connell, rector of the North American College in Rome, wrote Cardinal Gibbons on August 3 in a way that demonstrated the probability of still further agitation for the appointment of "national" bishops. O'Connell had talked with Cardinal Rampolla, the Secretary of State. The Cardinal "said there was no need of any further agitation."

I added: then, your Eminence, when Von Schloezer, Cahensly and Volpe-Landi come to you again to treat of affairs of the Church in America, please don't give them a hearing, for see all the agitation it has created. That, he

replied, the Holy See cannot do, when these men come to us and request us to look after the interests of their *Connazionali* that they say are losing their faith in America we are bound to hear them. And sometimes men of great merit interpose their influence, for instance Windhorst was deeply interested in this plan. I said "That, your Eminence, is precisely what offends public sentiment in America, that these people coming to America still consider themselves under the control of the government of Prussia." Oh but, said he, the Holy See can take no account of feelings of that kind; the Holy See must look equally after all without taking any account of nationality.

O'Connell remarked further on in his letter: "the more I see of it, the more convinced I am that this question which is a purely spiritual one for us is a political one for them, and that it forms part of their policy in dealing with the central Powers. Nothing will ever restrain them in America, but the voice of the civil power."¹³ By "them", O'Connell apparently meant the Papal Secretary of State, Rampolla, and Cardinal Persico, secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda.

Men of good will felt that the *coup de grâce* was dealt "Cahenslyism" when they read the words uttered on August 20, 1891, by James Cardinal Gibbons in his sermon at the investiture of Archbishop Katzer as the new ordinary of Milwaukee. Katzer was the acknowledged leader of the German group. The dean of the American hierarchy, in the presence of most of its members, took occasion to refer in unmistakable terms to the nationality difficulties of the preceding years. The Cardinal called attention to the assemblage of prelates as evidence of the unity of the American Church, then continued:

Woe to him, my brethren, who would destroy or impair this blessed harmony that reigns among us! Woe to him who would sow tares of discord in the fair fields of the Church of America! Woe to him who would breed dissension among the leaders of Israel by introducing a spirit of nationalism into the camp of the Lord! Brothers we are, whatever may be our nationality, and brothers we shall remain—we will prove to our countrymen that the ties formed by grace and

¹³August 3, 1891 (BCA, 88-U-2).

faith are stronger than flesh and blood—God and our country! This our watchword—Loyalty to God's Church and to our country!—this our religious and political faith. . . . Let us glory in the title of American citizen. We owe our allegiance to one country, and that country is America. We must be in harmony with our political institutions. It matters not whether this is the land of our birth or the land of our adoption. It is the land of our destiny.¹⁴

Mere words, even those of a Sovereign Pontiff and of a Prince of the Church, were not sufficient to stifle the antagonisms and strains which had developed with such rapidity in a short space of time. German, or Polish, or Bohemian, or French Catholics in America, jealous of their own cultures, overwhelmed to a degree by the blatancy of America in the nineties, clung to their old ways. Had they not, after all, come here to enjoy freedom? Had not many of them left Europe rather than send their children to state-dominated schools? Did they not consider the privilege of raising their offspring to fear God and love their neighbors in their own way one of the most sacred rights which America had to offer?

Catholics who were a product of the American environment, on the other hand, felt just as strongly about the necessity of unity in the face of prejudice. They loved America, they believed in her and in all her noisy foibles and idiosyncracies. For them the future held meaning only if they could once and for all identify themselves and their Church with the society in which they lived. Foreign ways and manners must go, and the sooner the better!

As in every conflict of this sort, there were those on both sides who fought all opposition with the utmost tenacity, while the majority looked on, hoping for moderation and mutual understanding. Such understanding came eventually, but not in August, 1891. Hardly had the echoes of Cardinal Gibbons' moving appeal for unity died out of the Milwaukee Cathedral before a new, disturbing issue caused the controversy of the previous year to seem slight in comparison. This was the school question, brought to a head by Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul. In that noteworthy

¹⁴James Cardinal Gibbons, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years* (New York, 2 v., 1916), II, 148-155.

contest the national prejudices of each party to the conflict became weapons in the war of words. The activities of Cahensly and his friends in Europe did not stop. They seemed rather to become more vigorous. The comparatively united stand of the American episcopacy in opposition to what they had considered either ill-chosen or malicious proposals (depending on their point of view) concerning Church administration was shattered. Old allies became new enemies. This second phase of the large problem of "Americanism" is an intriguing story, although it is an account of regrettable and unpleasant occurrences. The entire controversy over "Americanism", in all its aspects, might well serve to remind us today of the evil consequences of selfish nationalism in conflict with the ideal of international unity and brotherhood.

II

EDUCATION ON TRIAL: PAROCHIAL VERSUS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

American Catholics have been for a long time confronted by the problem of how best to maintain their own schools in the midst of a society essentially Protestant in character. The early days of the Republic, when the principle of denominational education was generally accepted, was in reality a period of much greater ease of mind for Catholics than the later years of the nineteenth century. It was not until America began to accept the general principle of State control of public education that the lot of Catholics became more difficult. During the period when denominational schools were the rule, each sect might maintain its own institutions without being required to contribute also to the support of State-run schools. After the turn of the nineteenth century this situation no longer existed. Catholics found themselves faced with the necessity of contributing increasing amounts for public education in the form of taxes, while at the same time they felt compelled to maintain confessional schools for the training of their own children.

Various plans were tried in different places and at different periods in attempts to ease this double financial burden placed upon a segment of the population undistinguished by wealth. Compromise solutions of one sort and another worked more satisfactorily in the early days of state-supported public education than they did later in the century. By 1890, the educational problem had become a matter of increasingly serious concern to Catholics in general, and to the members of the hierarchy in particular. Financial difficulties were not the only issue at stake from the Catholic point of view.

It is true that the greatly enlarged need for Catholic education of the children of immigrants came at a time when the wealth of Church communicants was not increasing in proportion to their numbers. It is also true that as the financial burden for the support of parochial schools grew appreciably heavier, taxation for the support of the public schools increased. Even more significant to Catholics than the enlarged financial burden was the character

of public school education. The Church and its communicants have always held that a well-rounded education requires moral training as well as secular knowledge. The tax-supported schools of the nineteenth century fell roughly into one of three categories, each of which was equally distasteful to Catholics. They were either "Sectarian", in that they laid emphasis upon specific religious exercises such as the reading of the Bible in the King James version, or "pagan", through a complete ignoring of the existence of God, or "atheistic" because they denied God in the name of science. The devout Catholic believer could not conscientiously send his children for training to such schools. A third cause for Catholic insistence upon the necessity of the parochial school stemmed from the fear that the development of tax-supported education would place in the hands of the State a function which belongs properly to the family—the education of the child.

These points of view were expressed in moderate and immoderate terms by Catholics on a number of occasions after the Civil War. One of the impolitic tendencies of Catholic writers and speakers on the school subject during this period was evidenced in the free use of such terms as "Godless", "anti-Christian", and "atheistic" in referring to the public schools. The thoughtless use of such terms did little to win understanding from the rather considerable Protestant element in the country which was inclined to half-agree with Catholics upon the need for adding a fourth R (Religion) to the standard school curriculum.

Cardinal James Gibbons, with a degree of tact and an understanding of American social institutions equalled by few of his contemporaries in the Catholic hierarchy, presented the Catholic case for the parochial school in a temperate and reasoned address to the National Educational Association, meeting at Nashville in July, 1889. Bishop John Keane, first rector of newly-established Catholic University of America, ably seconded Cardinal Gibbons' plea for understanding of the Catholic educational problem. The pleas of the two prelates for financial help for the church schools on the ground that such schools contributed to the social welfare of the nation reached an influential audience. The group of secular educators present in Nashville was inclined

to greater receptivity by the fact that on the same program appeared two spokesmen for the public schools whose arguments degenerated into semi-hysterical charges that the "Papal government" was launching an assault upon the "American System", and that "an excess of crime" resulted from parochial schools.

Other Catholic leaders, members of the hierarchy and laymen in various parts of the Union, were similarly concerned with making a satisfactory adjustment between what they considered the legitimate aims of religion with regard to the moral training of children and the growing secularism of American public education. In 1890 Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul took the lead in demanding a revision of relations between Church and State with regard to the establishment and maintenance of compulsory education in the primary school grades.

The National Educational Association met in St. Paul in that year. Ireland addressed the convention on the subject "State Schools and Parish Schools". He was firm in his belief that the Church needed "Americanization". He had been hammering away at this idea for a number of years, and had as a result become intimately involved in the controversy over nationalism in the Church. Now, in 1890, he had high praise for the public school system of the United States. He regretted the necessity of maintaining separate parochial schools for Catholic children, and referred to the public schools as "our pride and glory". He expressed "regret that there is a necessity" for the existence of the parochial school. "The Free School of America!" he thundered, "Withered be the hand raised in sign of its destruction! Can I be suspected of enmity to the state school because I would fain widen the expanse of its wings until all the children of the people find shelter beneath their cover; because I tell of defects which for very love of the state school I seek to remedy?" Ireland later explained his stand in these words:

I deplored the necessity of Catholics being obliged after paying in tax for the support of state schools to maintain again by voluntary contributions schools of their own, and asked the State for means to maintain Catholic schools as well as Protestant, or if it would not grant us that, which we

thought was our due, to permit us to introduce the teaching of religion into the schools of the State.¹

These arguments were misunderstood by many Catholics. A number of German-American prelates were offended by them. They represented a group of Catholic communicants many of whom had come to America to escape the godlessness of state paternalism. It was to be expected that they would frown upon any proposal which might seem to encourage in America the development of those conditions from which they had sought relief by emigration. Ireland, on the other hand, believed that opposition to the kind of educational development he advocated was closely linked to the purposes of the "Cahensly conspiracy". He was convinced that the Germans fought all attempts to modify or eliminate the parochial schools because they wished to use these schools for the perpetuation of the German language, German customs, and German loyalty. On the school question the Archbishop of St. Paul found support in the firm approval of Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Keane, and Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, Ill. During the early stages of the controversy steps were taken in Rome to secure an explanation of Ireland's educational ideas. He was vindicated there, largely through the good offices of Cardinal Gibbons. By the summer of 1891, both Cahenslyism and the school controversy seemed to have been definitively settled to the satisfaction of Ireland and Gibbons.²

The school question was not dead, nor was Cahenslyism. Both were revived during the late summer and early fall of 1891. This time the issues involved were less clear than they had been during the earlier period of agitation over the Cahensly memorials. Central to the situation was a conflict between two groups of prelates in the American hierarchy. On the one hand were the

¹Reilly, *School Controversy*, 53. This is the best study of this question, and is the source for many of the details of the controversy included in this article.

²Much of the material on Cahenslyism used in this article appeared in *The Catholic Historical Review* under the title "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891-1910", XXXII (October, 1946), 302-340. A good summary account of the school problem is in R. H. Lord, J. E. Sexton, E. T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 3 v., 1944), III, 172-182.

so-called "liberals" led by Gibbons and Ireland. They believed that the Church in the United States should be "Americanized". "We must be in harmony with our political institutions," said Gibbons in his sermon at Katzer's investiture. Harmonizing the practices of Roman Catholicism and American Protestantism was at best a delicate operation. No member of the "liberal" group advocated departure from the dogmatic teachings of the Church in matters of faith and morals. They desired only such compromise on the externals of Catholic conduct as would evidence to their American compatriots the loyal American character of the Catholic community.³

Opposing them were the "conservatives" who feared lest compromise on externals end in heresy. This group believed that the parochial school was the bulwark of Catholic faith. They fought all attempts to amalgamate Catholic and State primary education. Similarly they objected to various other adaptations of Catholic practice to American institutions which seemed to them liable to compromise the integrity of Catholic doctrine.⁴

The conflict attracted the attention of Rome. In time, largely because of the misinterpretation of certain American Catholic religious practices by a group of French intellectuals, the charge of American heresy was brought to Rome. When that happened the Holy Father, Leo XIII, condemned the practices in question, but accepted the assurance of the American "liberals" that they were neither utilized nor encouraged in the United States.

In this conflict that went deep into the roots of American Catholicism, Cahenslyism was little more than a confusing complication. The original outburst of American indignation against the so-called "conspiracy" was set off by the petitions of Europeans. Opposition to the foreign proposals was spontaneous and well-nigh unanimous among those members of the American hierarchy who were non-German in their antecedents. Even some

³"The more liberal group may, perhaps, be described as the party of bolder action and new methods," Lord, Sexton, Harrington, *op. cit.*, III, 162.

⁴"To conservatives it appeared that the goal was better to be reached by not forcing the pace, but by trusting to slower, more cautious, more time-honored methods," *ibid.*, 163.

who belonged to the latter group united with the majority in condemning European interference with the internal administration of the American Church. The bishops might differ sharply among themselves with regard to measures of internal control and administration, but they agreed in resenting extra-official foreign attempts to regulate procedures which they alone were competent to manage.

The resuscitation of Cahenslyism after 1891 proceeded from much different causes. No longer did it occupy the center of the stage as a clear-cut American-versus-foreign jurisdictional dispute. Instead, it became one of the weapons in the struggle over "Americanization" of the Church in this country. The proponents of "Americanization" viewed Cahenslyism as the keystone of a plot to prevent "Americanization" of the Church and to Germanize the United States. Cahensly's apologists considered it nothing more than a pious, philanthropic movement to better the material condition and improve the spiritual welfare of Catholic immigrants to the United States. They thought the charges of their opponents were deliberately malicious perversions of the truth designed to draw the attention of American Catholics away from the pernicious aspects of "Americanization" by turning attention upon Cahensly as a convenient scapegoat. Words of the harshest sort were used by both camps. Some members of the hierarchy who had opposed Cahenslyism when it was a clear and comparatively uncomplicated issue before 1891, found themselves allied with its supporters because of the larger questions involved after that date.

The signal for a revival of conflict among the members of the hierarchy was given by Archbishop Ireland in August, 1891. The St. Paul prelate negotiated an agreement with the State of Minnesota permitting the school boards of Faribault and Stillwater to take over control of the two parochial schools in those localities. The terms of the transfer were not exceptional. Similar arrangements had existed in other states for a long time. Ireland's action aroused special comment and discussion because of his well-known views on the desirability of amalgamating Catholic and public primary education. The "Faribault Plan" was attacked

by Protestants who saw in it a Catholic threat to control the public schools. It was loudly criticized by Catholics who feared that it meant the elimination of all parochial schools, first in Minnesota, then perhaps, elsewhere.⁵

The controversy aroused by Ireland's action seemed destined to be sharp and short. By November, 1891, it was dying out. Ireland was asked to explain the details of his school plan to the American archbishops at their second annual meeting, held in St. Louis the twenty-ninth of that month. This he did without incurring the opposition of his colleagues. Also on the agenda of the meeting was consideration of the Cahensly memorial. It was "discussed at length".

Ireland's explanation of the school plan may have satisfied the archbishops gathered at St. Louis, but its validity was soon called again into question. Two pamphlets printed just before the St. Louis meeting threw the discussion wide open and prevented a seemingly conclusion to the controversy. Dr. Thomas Bouquillon, Professor of Moral Sciences at the Catholic University of America published a brochure entitled *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?* This was later described as a "purely abstract exposition of principles independent of circumstances of time and country".⁶ The pamphlet upheld the right of the State to control education and make it compulsory. Ireland's opponents seized upon Bouquillon's arguments as being a doctrinal apology for the Faribault experiment. They rushed into print an answer to Bouquillon written by Father R. I. Holaind, S.J. The question asked in the title of the original pamphlet *To Whom Does It Belong?* was answered by the title of Holaind's production: *The Parent First*. The Jesuit flatly denied the primary authority of the State in matters of education. Catholic newspapers all over the East and Mid-West picked up the controversy. It spread from their pages to those of the secular press. The New York *Herald* scored a sensation by securing an interview with Archbishop Ireland, who was in New York.

⁵For a brief but accurate account of Ireland's school experiment at Faribault and Stillwater, see: William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 4 v., 1921-30), IV, 174-183.

⁶W. J. Kerby, "Bouquillon", *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), II, 482.

Ireland grasped the opportunity to explain his school plan. In the words of Gibbons, Ireland "had his war paint on". With his usual bluntness he referred to Father Holaind's pamphlet as "quite unfair". He berated its author as being "stationary" while the "world moves". Speaking of Catholic periodicals which opposed the Faribault Plan, he mentioned "some Catholic papers published in the German language, the true motives, however, of which are apprehended without much difficulty". Ireland's bell-cose frankness earned him the enmity of various individuals and groups. The German-Americans bore him no love. The Archbishop's innuendo as to the reasons for their opposition to his school plan did nothing to win their affection. Certain members of the Society of Jesus, in the United States and Italy, resented the comments on Father Holaind. Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York was not one of Ireland's ardent admirers. He was irritated by the action of the St. Paul prelate in utilizing his presence within Corrigan's ecclesiastical jurisdiction to unburden himself so boldly on Church matters. Corrigan was not sympathetic to Ireland's educational ideas. Ireland himself believed that Corrigan had requested Holaind to write the reply to Bouquillon. He evidently intended the interview to be an answer to Corrigan as much as to Holaind. No doubt Corrigan understood it for what it was.

This was the point at which Cahenslyism once more became a lively issue in Catholic ecclesiastical affairs. Shortly before Ireland's outburst in New York, Father John Gmeiner of St. Paul had published a fiery attack on Cahenslyism which seriously offended the German-Americans. The Archbishop's own comments in New York convinced them that there was under way a concerted campaign to deprive them of their German-language parochial schools, and perhaps even of separate language parishes. This belief was bolstered by the publication in *The Catholic World* in January, 1892, of an article by Reverend Henry A. Brann of New York attacking Cahenslyism in no uncertain terms. Brann answered in sequence the charges against the American Church set forth in the Lucerne memorial. He quoted historical facts and figures to show the exaggerated character of the claims

concerning losses to the faith in this country. He ended his article with a peroration that could hardly have made pleasant reading for the German-Americans:

We want no foreign bishops here, with the stamp of Kaiser Wilhelm or of Franz Joseph or of the Carbonaro Crispi on their mitres. We take European immigrants and we improve their condition, physically, mentally, and morally. Heaven knows many of them are poor specimens of European civilization and of European Christianity! . . . We say to fault-finders from Austria, purify the corrupt capital of your half-infidel empire; you French Gascons, look to the beams in your own eyes; you Macchiavellian intriguers at Rome, go preach the Gospel to the *Camorra* of Naples and to the *Mafia* of Sicily. We say to the Marchese Landi that until he and his countrymen free Leo XIII from the chains which they have permitted to be fastened around the feet of his authority, they are in no position to criticise the Catholicity of other nations.⁷

Archbishop Ireland had in the meantime gone to Rome to defend his school plan before the Congregation of the Propaganda. He met there considerable opposition, led by Father Salvatore M. Brandi, S.J., editor of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, an influential review that was sometimes credited with reflecting the opinion of the Vatican. Ireland was convinced that much, if not all, of the opposition to him and to his ideas had its origin in political considerations.

There is no doubt that Ireland was the object of concerted and virulent attacks by opponents of his school plan. His religious orthodoxy was called into serious question both in Rome and in the United States. Archbishops Katzer of Milwaukee and Corrigan of New York, as well as Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, N. Y., and others were largely responsible for these attacks. Ireland was a fighter who minced no words in answering an opponent. He seemed thoroughly convinced that the opposition to him was dictated by German-Austrian-Italian political considerations. It is difficult to agree with his opinion in view of the attitude maintained by certain of his opponents on the question of hierarchical jurisdiction. It is furthermore significant that the

⁷"Mr. Cahensly and the Church in the United States," LIV, 568-581.

whole question of Cahenslyism, after supposedly being settled by action of the Holy See itself, was first raised again by Ireland of St. Paul, Gmeiner of St. Paul, McGolrick of Duluth, and finally, United States Senator Cushman Kellogg Davis of Minnesota. The latter, on April 22, 1892, during a debate on the floor of the Senate on Chinese immigration, charged that Cahenslyism was a more serious threat to the security of the United States than any Oriental immigration would be for a considerable time to come.

The evidence at hand does not show conclusively whether Ireland used the fear of foreign intervention as a means of securing acceptance of his ideas on "Americanization" of the Church, or whether he was sincerely convinced of the foreign threat to American institutions. The European groups interested in the lot of American immigrants took steps at this point to deny any wish of interfering in the internal affairs of the American Church. Toward the middle of April, 1892, representatives of the German, Austrian, Belgian, and Italian St. Raphael Societies addressed a letter to Cardinal Rampolla that called attention to that portion of Rampolla's communication to Gibbons of June 28, 1891 which read: "We have come to learn that certain of these associations . . . propose to obtain for each group of emigrants . . . a representative among the members of the American hierarchy devoted peculiarly to their interests." They asserted that this statement constituted a misinterpretation or mistranslation of their memorial. What was desired, according to the St. Raphael Societies, was nothing more than the appointment of bishops who would work in complete harmony with the American hierarchy in looking after the spiritual wants of European immigrants.⁸ Rampolla acknowledged the communication on April 28, 1892, with a non-committal letter to the President of the German St.-Raphaels Verein, Count Isenburg-Birstein. He stated that the letter had been submitted to Leo XIII, and that the "re-translation" referred to had been accepted at its face value.

These protestations by the St. Raphael Societies may not have

⁸Cahensly, *Charitas-Schriften*, *op. cit.*, 47-48.

been sincere, but a number of influential American bishops who were not members of the German-American group placed confidence in them. Corrigan, McQuaid, and others evidently thought that Ireland was using Cahenslyism as a red herring to divert attention from the obnoxious character of his school reforms. They, like Ireland, opposed all suggestions for the appointment of "national" bishops in the United States. They believed that the earlier Cahensly memorials had stemmed from false information and an over-zealous attitude. They did not, however, question the motives of the European or American supporters of the petitions. They saw no reality in Ireland's hint of dark threats to the political security of the United States. The core of the dispute and, in many ways, its saddest aspect, was the refusal of both parties to admit the honesty of their opponents' convictions. Ireland and his supporters evidently believed that Katzer and his group, including Corrigan and McQuaid, were consciously dissimulating the motives of their opposition to "Americanization". The other side was equally unimpressed by Ireland's fulminations about the underlying political issues which he saw involved in the whole question. They attributed his attitude to purely personal considerations of expediency. Mutual lack of confidence, plus an amazing absence of Christian charity, bred personal animosities of the worst kind.

The explanation of the offending paragraph of the Lucerne memorial which the St. Raphael Societies transmitted to Cardinal Rampolla for the consideration of the Pope was also the apologia subsequently used by the American friends of Cahensly. Granting that it was entirely sincere, it is not difficult to understand why Cahensly's opponents found this explanation so unsatisfactory. What Cahensly suggested—the appointment of "bishops to minister to the spiritual needs" of the immigrants, who should "act only in concert with the American bishops"—was an administrative anachronism. Such division of spiritual jurisdiction—for it could be nothing else—would violate every rule of hierarchical organization. It could not help but create division and misunderstanding within the American Church. There may have been no intent in the proposal to interfere with the internal ad-

ministration of the Church in the United States, but had it been carried out, that effect would nonetheless have resulted. The kindest judgment that could be passed upon those who supported this idea was that they were innocently naive in matters of ecclesiastical administration. Ireland and his friends might be pardoned a certain amount of skepticism concerning the motives of their opponents, for it is hard to believe that such a degree of naivete can exist in the minds of responsible administrative officials.

Agitation against Cahenslyism during the summer of 1892 was marked by a new outburst from St. Paul on the "conspiracy". Reverend John Conway, editor of *The Northwestern Chronicle*, Catholic paper of that city, published in *The Review of Reviews* what purported to be a factual history of the attempt to impose "national" bishops on the American Church. Conway wrote: "A political move is covered under the name of religion." He specifically named archbishops, bishops, priests, and laymen who instigated the "plot". Archbishop Katzer of Milwaukee, whom Conway called "Cahensly's protegee", led the list. Conway concluded that the "conspiracy" was deepening at home and abroad, and that it was necessary for all Americans of all creeds to unite to prevent foreign attempts to control the United States.⁹

Tempers on both sides had been aroused as a result of Propaganda's decision on Archbishop Ireland's school plan. Rome, after considering Ireland's explanation of the Faribault system and the reasons for adopting it, replied "*Tolerari potest.*" Something was to be "tolerated". But what? Corrigan and others announced that the decision meant only that at Faribault and Stillwater, under special circumstances, the compromise between parochial and public control of the primary school might be permitted. This, they argued, meant a defeat for Ireland, since the further extension of the Faribault idea remained unapproved. The "liberals" interpreted "*tolerari potest*" quite differently. They claimed that with those words the Congregation of the Propaganda approved the basic idea involved, and that there was now no possible question of the legitimate character of similar school arrange-

⁹"'Cahenslyism' Versus Americanism," VI (August, 1892), 43-48.

ments anywhere in the United States. The dispute waxed virulent between the spring and fall of 1892. Charges and counter-charges were flung heedlessly back and forth by the prelates involved. The Catholic and secular press carried columns of news items and editorial opinion on the matter, most of it partisan in character. Charges of theft of documents and forgery were freely aired. Cardinal Gibbons, the highest-ranking American prelate, held his peace, although even he was obliged to protect himself from insinuations of partiality carried in the public prints. Where his sympathies lay was a matter of common knowledge to the members of the hierarchy, although he had the good judgment to refrain from participation in the war of invective. He had written Leo XIII a warm defense of Ireland's school plan and of the Archbishop's motives in sponsoring it. He followed up this action by recommending Ireland's designation to the cardinalate on the grounds of personal merit and public reputation. Widespread publicity given to the war of insults among members of the hierarchy prompted Monsignor O'Connell to write Gibbons from Rome:

Never did I dream that such foulness could ever come out of the American Church as the past two years have brought forth. The Episcopate has fallen greatly in the opinion of the Romans.¹⁰

The annual meeting of the American Archbishops, held at New York on November 16, 1892, was a crucial one in the history of the American Church. Leo XIII was vastly perturbed by the internal dissensions aroused by the decision of Propaganda on Ireland's school plan. He decided to send a personal representative to attend that meeting. This was an action that required delicate handling. The American hierarchy was not in a mood to receive advice on domestic questions from a foreigner, even though he might have behind him all the prestige of the Pope of Rome. Archbishop Francis Satolli was sent to the United States with the somewhat limited powers of a Papal Ablegate for the ostensible purpose of representing the Holy See at the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. He brought

¹⁰BCA, 91-G-10, March 14, 1893.

with him various precious cartographical exhibits from the Vatican collections for loan to the United States Government. Cardinal Gibbons was given to understand that Satolli would have something to say to the American archbishops in his capacity as personal representative of the Pope.

After visits to Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore, and to the President in Washington, the ablegate went to St. Paul, where he remained with Archbishop Ireland until the meeting in New York. Satolli divulged at the meeting that he had been sent by Leo XIII to effect an end to the school controversy. He produced a set of "propositions" which, he said, reflected the mind of the Pope in the matter. These "propositions" defined the character of Catholic primary education. In general, they constituted a vindication of Ireland's policies.¹¹ The archbishops assented to the propositions, but controversy was not ended thereby. Katzer, Corrigan, and many suffragan bishops were dissatisfied with Satolli's solution, and questioned his authority. Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, for example, wrote Archbishop Corrigan:

We are all in a nice pickle, thanks to Leo XIII and his delegate. . . . It is only a question of time, when present Roman legislation having wrought incalculable mischief, that we, school-children of the hierarchy, will again receive a lesson in our Catechism from another Italian sent out to enlighten us.¹²

The situation was not bettered by the fact that the Pope had also asked his legate to sound out American opinion as to the establishment of a permanent Apostolic Delegation in the United States. This was a step which the American hierarchy hoped the Pope would not take. It feared that such action might arouse needless Protestant prejudice. Leo XIII was well aware of American feeling on the subject, but his patience was wearing a bit thin.

Adverse criticism of the Satolli propositions by members of the hierarchy and in the columns of the Catholic press centered

¹¹The text of the propositions is in Reilly, *School Controversy*, Appendix G, 271-276.

¹²December 13, 1892; in Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, (Rochester, New York, 4 v., 1925-1927, 1946), III, 187.

largely on the claim that the Papal Ablegate had no authority to impose a solution of the problem on the American Church. The language used with regard to Satolli was unguarded and on occasion, positively insulting. Cardinal Gibbons wrote to Rome that only an encyclical letter from the Pope himself would quiet the controversy. Leo XIII evidently decided it was time to exact respect for his agent, and to bring an end to the disgraceful conduct of the hierarchy. Without previous warning an Apostolic Delegation for the United States was created, and Satolli was made first Delegate. This was in January, 1893. On May 31, 1893 the Pope sent to Gibbons the encyclical letter on education which the Cardinal had suggested. Once the highest authority in the Church had spoken personally in the most solemn manner possible, discussion of the school question was ended.¹³

The effective life of Cahenslyism as a force in American Church affairs was over by this time. It is significant that the threat of "national" bishops seemed to disappear at the same time the troublesome school controversy was settled by the personal action of Pope Leo XIII. The conflict between "liberal" and "conservative" groups within the hierarchy continued. The issue of American versus foreign nationalism had still many years of life left in it, but Cahenslyism appeared to be extinct. Certain individuals of minor importance attempted to agitate the matter after the beginning of 1893, but the hierarchy had other and more significant "fish to fry".

The end of the school controversy, and the subsidence of official fears concerning "foreign bishops" did not by any means heal the split between the "conservative" and "liberal" factions in the American hierarchy. The animosities which had been fanned to white heat by the fights over Cahenslyism and the school question now began to appear with a different and more serious aspect. Cahenslyism was an administrative problem. The school controversy was essentially a political problem. Now there arose the doctrinal problem. This problem centered about the loudly-voiced charge that the practices and beliefs of the "liberal" group con-

¹³Reilly, *School Controversy*, 223-230.

stituted doctrinal heresy. Such charges were not directly expressed in America in 1893, but certain significant statements of American prelates clearly pointed the way to the elaboration of such charges in the near future. The word "heresy", when it was finally applied specifically to the American Church, was used in France. But the indictment had its American roots.

Illustrative of the continuance of conflict after Papal settlement of the school controversy was a passage-at-arms between the Archbishops of New York and St. Paul, Michael A. Corrigan and John Ireland, during January, 1893. On the eighth of that month the *Chicago Sunday Post* printed a long article purporting to reveal the existence of a plot by the Archbishop of New York designed "to discredit and disgrace Archbishop Ireland and Mgr. Satolli, the papal delegate to America."¹⁴ The article charged that Corrigan had used methods unbecoming a bishop in an attempt to undo the effect of the Pope's decisions with regard to American ecclesiastical affairs. Associated with the New York Archbishop in the alleged "conspiracy", according to the *Post*, were "priests of his immediate entourage, notably Father Michael Joseph Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, who is especially named by Archbishop Ireland as a conspirator, and possibly Father Gerardo Ferrante, Archbishop Corrigan's Italian secretary." Father Ferrante was identified in the same article as the author of an anonymous Italian pamphlet which had been circulated in the fall of 1892, and which the Papal delegate had characterized as: "reprehensible beyond expression, because it employs language unworthy of an ecclesiastic or a layman, and it shows no regard either for His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons or for the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, and none even for the august person of the Holy Father." The pamphlet was written as an attack upon Ireland's school plan.¹⁵

The Chicago newspaper alleged that Archbishop Ireland was preferring charges to Rome against Corrigan. There is no doubt about the responsibility of Ireland for publication of these materials. He wrote Cardinal Gibbons on the same day they appeared in print, explaining his attitude on the subject.

¹⁴Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, III, 212.

¹⁵Reilly, *School Controversy*, 206.

I saw the autograph letters of Mgr. Corrigan and of Father Lavelle. The letter of the former was addressed to a reporter, now in Chicago, formerly when living in New York accustomed to do dirty literary work for Madison Avenue. Lavelle wrote to no less a person than Maurice F. Egan. For the present this name is not to be made public. But if need there be, Mr. Egan will give us the letter. Egan is ashamed that he was asked to be a party to a vile conspiracy. He knows Corrigan: he used to edit the *Freeman's Journal*, & used to receive inspirations from Corrigan. He says that five years ago, His Grace of New York became absolutely possessed of the idea that you wanted to have him deposed, and become yourself his successor—Baltimore being too small for your ambition. The man is crazy—

Now what is to be done? Are we to allow this liar & hypocrite and plotter to traduce our good name thro' America & Europe? I am at the end of my patience, & I am going to do something to rid the Church of him, or of his influence!

We have fallen upon sad times. Religion is suffering: Catholics are scandalized: Protestants laugh at us.

Abp Feehan has reported that I want to be the permanent delegate! What fools these men are, when they are not knaves.¹⁶

Archbishop Ireland himself would make no public comment on the *Post's* article, but the editor of his diocesan newspaper, *The Northwestern Chronicle* was less reticent. Father John Conway wrote:

Journalists, who are directly interested in church matters, knew, by journalistic intuition, that a conspiracy was being hatched. The libellous pamphlet written by Archbishop Corrigan's Italian Secretary, the effusions of Miss Edes, a garrulous old maid, who is Roman correspondent of the *New York Catholic News*, the dispatches purporting to come from Boston and other cities, outside of New York, yet all having the same purpose, the plethora of anonymous letters published in the paper pointed clearly to the existence of a conspiracy against the representative of the Holy Father.

. . . . As to the statement that Archbishop Ireland has preferred charges in Rome, there is no necessity for his doing so, because Rome's representative is here in the person of Archbishop Satolli.¹⁷

¹⁶Ireland to Gibbons, St. Paul, Jan. 8, 1893, BCA, 91-A-7.

¹⁷Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, III, 213-214.

Archbishop Corrigan was evidently worried about the repercussions of the affair in Rome. Bishop Bernard McQuaid, of Rochester, his close friend and mentor, wrote him on January 13 a letter of reassurance:

I think you must be needlessly alarmed. On what plea could you be deposed? You might be reproved, or something of that kind be done, but deposition is a serious affair, and that will not even be talked about, except by the St. Paul clique.

Of course, if you wrote that letter to Lahiffe, it was he who betrayed you. I never quite liked the man. . . . As soon as I read the *Chicago Post*, I came to the conclusion that it was Lahiffe. There was no more conspiracy against Ireland in that part of the business than there was conspiracy in the *Freeman's Journal* and other papers against you. Don't worry, keep cool, and be watchful.¹⁸

The complete truth of this "conspiracy" case seems still to be unavailable. Just two years later, when the quarrel between the two archbishops had reached an even more intense stage, Bishop McQuaid asserted in a letter to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda, that

The conspiracy case, that was published in the *Chicago Sunday Post* in January, 1893, was prepared by Archbishop Ireland, with the help of one of his suffragans and a layman. They spent three days in a hotel in Chicago, concocting it. When ready, they offered it to the *Chicago Herald*, and, when declined in that office, they had it inserted in the *Chicago Post*. It made a great sensation at the time, but few knew that it was the work of Mgr. Ireland himself. His own newspaper had many attacks upon Mgr. Corrigan, evidently written by Mgr. Ireland himself. When wanted, the proofs of Mgr. Ireland's complicity in the preparation of the conspiracy case can be furnished.¹⁹

This is not the place to discuss the reasons for Bishop McQuaid's letter to Rome except to say that it was an explanation of a public attack upon Archbishop Ireland uttered from the pulpit of the Rochester Cathedral. Rome had demanded such

¹⁸Zwierlein, III, 213.

¹⁹Zwierlein, III, 222.

an explanation. McQuaid replied with a series of categorical charges against the St. Paul prelate. Each one of these allegations was of the most serious character, yet none was intrinsically so damaging as the implication which might be clearly read between the lines of one of McQuaid's concluding paragraphs:

Of late years, a spirit of false liberalism is springing up in our body under such leaders as Mgr. Ireland and Mgr. Keane, that, if not checked in time, will bring disaster on the Church. Many a time Catholic laymen have remarked that the Catholic Church they once knew seems to be passing away, so greatly shocked are they at what they see passing around them.²⁰

These lines clearly implied the probability of doctrinal deviation on the part of the so-called "liberals". Within a short time the charge ceased to be implicit and was made explicit. The heated personal animosities engendered by the Church's internal conflicts between 1880 and 1895 contributed in no small measure to the final great quarrel that seemed for a time to threaten the very unity of the American Church. Not until the warring members of the hierarchy were shocked into a sensibility of the danger which faced the Church they all loved was peace achieved.

²⁰Zwierlein, III, 224.

III

ORTHODOXY QUESTIONED: WAS THERE AN AMERICAN HERESY?

Tempers were still irate, passions still aroused, when a new phase of the dispute between "conservatives" and "liberals" broke out in the American Church. Bishop McQuaid had more than hinted at doctrinal deviation on the part of Archbishop Ireland and his friends when he wrote an indictment of the St. Paul prelate to Rome in 1895. The first definite charge of heresy was leveled against American Catholic prelates by a group of French writers in 1898. In order to understand the reasons for this action, it is necessary to recall that between 1891 and 1903, the Church-State problem was at its most acute stage in France. Various French Catholics, anxious to discover a basis upon which a rapprochement between the Church and the Republic might be effected, turned towards the United States in search of a solution. From the date of publication of Alexis DeTocqueville's great work, *Democracy in America*, in 1841, first one French commentator and then another had devoted attention to the peculiarities of the Church-State relationship in this country. The Frenchman, agnostic, atheist, or faithful son of Mother Church, is completely familiar with the ancient tradition that considers union of Church and State as the ideal, all departures from which are regrettable deviations from the norm. The spectacle of a great Church that officially rejects the ideal of union and yet calls itself not only Catholic, but Roman, is apt to startle the French observer, and drive him to further investigation.¹

One of those Frenchmen responsible for some penetrating observations on the affairs of the Catholic Church in the United States was Max Leclerc. In 1891 he produced a short monograph that, in spite of its brevity, presented a fairly accurate picture of the situation in this country. It dealt specifically with what he called the "economic and religious crisis in the United States in 1890".² In orderly fashion he presented his explanation of

¹Much of the material used in this article appeared first in *The Catholic Historical Review* under the title "A Century of American Catholicism as Seen Through French Eyes," XXVII (April, 1941), 39-68.

²*Choses d'Amérique. Les crises économique et religieuse aux Etats-Unis en 1890* (Paris, 1891).

the growth of Catholicism in the United States, and his estimate of the existing and future importance of American Catholicism in relation to the world-wide Roman Church.

He explained the extraordinary growth of the American Church as the result of five principal factors: (1) the immigration of millions of European Catholics; (2) the comparatively high birth rate among these immigrant families; (3) the annexation of traditionally Catholic areas such as Florida, Texas, California, and New Mexico; (4) the freedom and opportunity enjoyed by the Church under the laws of the United States; and (5) the Church's own adaptation of her institutions to the American scene—"she has made herself tolerant, democratic, and American."³

These circumstances inevitably gave to the Church a tremendous field for expansion and development, a field that Leclerc felt had not been developed as it might have been. This led him to a consideration of the problems confronting American Catholics.

First, he wrote, the Church in the United States, while large and growing, was not as large as it should have been. Millions of Catholic immigrants had been lost to the faith because there were not in the United States enough priests to care for their spiritual needs.⁴ Secondly, most American Catholics were poor, which resulted in financial difficulties that hampered full development. Thirdly, the Church wanted to be American in the full sense of the term, but found herself fettered by the necessity of assimilating her foreign peoples and of convincing Americans generally that her organization was not foreign in its origins, its methods, and its temporal allegiance. Finally, all these problems were complicated by the fact that the Church in the United States was staffed with large numbers of foreign priests and that there were comparatively few priestly vocations among native American Catholics.⁵

As Leclerc saw it, therefore, the first thing that the Church in America had to do was to Americanize itself in the eyes of Americans. She had already become "tolerant" and "democratic".

³*Ibid.*, 218-223.

⁴*Ibid.*, 217-218.

⁵*Ibid.*, 224-226.

Her second duty was to provide adequately for the education of her young. Here two delicate additional problems presented themselves. The first was the financial question and the second was the danger of being charged with a violation of the spirit of the American Constitution and a desire to erect a "state within a state". Neither of these problems had been adequately solved at the time Leclerc wrote.⁶ He was particularly concerned with the school question, which at that time was entering its acute phase in American affairs. Admitting that the entire question was one which should not have arisen in a state where freedom and liberty rather than tolerance were the accepted social maxims, he wrote: "It is assuredly unfortunate that the Catholic Church has clashed directly with one of the most cherished principles of modern America: the absolute separation of affairs of state from matters of religion. It is only too clear to any impartial observer that the Church in this matter is proceeding against the grain of public opinion."⁷

The fact that the school problem had emerged in the United States as a result of Catholic initiative indicated to Leclerc the "coming-of-age" of the American Church. This led him to some broader and more general observations on the significance of this development for the American Church in particular and the Universal Church in general. To use his own words: "An important event in the history of the world is taking place on the other side of the ocean, and is developing almost unnoticed. The Catholic Church, the most powerful and the most ancient of religious organizations, has entered into contact with the youngest and most enterprising of the new societies. The Roman Church for the first time finds itself directly at grips with the people of a modern civilization, deprived of the intervention of government, local authorities, court intrigues, or diplomatic ingenuity."⁸ What will be the results? When immigration has ceased or slowed down greatly, may not the Church's losses equal or surpass her gains? Will the Church gain a majority in the United States as quickly

⁶*Ibid.*, 228-229.

⁷*Ibid.*, 234-235.

⁸*Ibid.*, 235-237.

as she expects? Numbers are a power in temporal affairs, but they are not all of the Church's concerns. What is the future of religious sentiment in the United States? America is essentially materialistic in her viewpoint, and once the new arrivals from Europe have become thoroughly "Americanized", will there be a place left in their souls for the precepts of Rome and the faith of their fathers?

These questions Leclerc did not presume to answer categorically, but he produced some additional general observations on the relationship of the American Church to the See of Peter that were provocative of much thought and worthy of more detailed discussion. His contention was that the Church of Rome could not help but be influenced by the Anglo-Saxon nations. He saw Latin influence losing its incontestable superiority in Church affairs, and the history of the world being altered thereby. "*Rome ne sera plus dans Rome, mais dans Baltimore ou dans Carthage.*"⁹ Early Roman policy towards the American Church had been like a colonial policy in the field of politics. But that situation had changed. "The American Church, after having been a simple external appendix of the Church of Rome, has become one of its driving forces. Ten million Americans have, on several memorable occasions, carried more weight in the balances of the Holy See than the hundreds of millions of faithful in the Old World. . . . But . . . the Church of Rome may cease to go along so eagerly with the young and frisky American nation. Should rebellion against the capitalists proceed among the people of the United States at too lively a pace, the Holy See might take alarm, and be unwilling to follow this new trend as quickly as it did the suggestions of a Gibbons or an Ireland. Under such circumstances the American Church might find itself once more somewhat abandoned to its own devices, like a scouting party which has for a time lost contact with its main body."¹⁰

Leclerc's study may be taken as the immediate precursor of the controversy over "Americanism" in the Universal Church. Other French writers turned their attention towards the United

⁹*Ibid.*, 237-239.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 240-241.

States in the effort to find enlightenment that might guide them in their own problems in France. One group of writers acquired from their studies an admiration of the American Church, its accomplishments, and its practices. Another group, adopting a totally different viewpoint, professed to see in the Church of the United States a threat to the unity of the Universal Church and a departure from the doctrinal teachings of the See of Peter. Their researches were but the prelude to publications in which their individually-acquired convictions emerged as controversial material for an unseemly dispute in which ranking members of the American hierarchy were pilloried as heretical.

The statement of the case for the American way of doing things by those writers who favored American practices may be summarized briefly as follows.¹¹ The Church in the United States has reached the point where it is accepted by non-Catholic Americans as an institution in accord with American ideals. While it has not overcome certain prejudices directed against it, the Council of Baltimore of 1889 marked the entrance of the Church into the public life of the United States, the beginning of a new era in American Catholic history. The Church of the United States has failed in many respects, but it is nevertheless a sound and flourishing limb of the central Roman tree. In answer to those who claim that the growth of the Church is neither remarkable nor rapid, the reply is that the quality of American Catholicism is of very high order. American Catholics are Catholics in both spirit and in practice. Either they leave the Church completely or they live up to its teaching thoroughly. The American Church is poor and its social status is not high, chiefly because of the immigrant character of much of its membership. But this member-

¹¹See: P. Maumus, *La République et la politique de l'Eglise. Le pouvoir. La loi. La liberté* (Paris, 1892). M.C.A. de Meaux, *L'Eglise catholique et la liberté aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1893), and "L'Eglise catholique aux Etats-Unis," in *Revue de Lille*, VIII (1903-04), 385-395. F. Klein, "Catholicisme américain," in *Revue Française d'Edimbourg*, I (Sept.-Oct., 1897), 306-314. Mgr. Péchenard, *La Fin de l'Américanisme en France* (Paris, 1901). H. Gabriels, "Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis durant le XIX^e siècle," in *Le Correspondant*, 205 (Jan. 10, 1901), 3-27. P. Quiévreux, *L'Anti-démocratisme. Sus à l'Eglise! Sus à Leon XIII! Sus à la France!* (Amiens, 1902). G. de Chabrol, "Un prêtre américain, le R. P. Hecker," in *Le Correspondant*, 190 (May 25, June 10, 1897).

ship is faithful and honest. American priests do not always have the fullest educational advantages, but they work harder, are more enterprising, and show more zeal than their European colleagues. What is quite important is that the ideas of the clergy and of the people coincide. As a result, the clergy is near to the people and a part of them. They translate into action the democratic principles of American institutions. The hierarchy too, without altering the ancient Roman discipline, has applied it wisely to a new and democratic society. In fine, the American clergy is one with the American laity, and both love and admire the American political system which insures their freedom by protecting them from political influences. This American system is the hope of those in France who seek in religion and liberty a safeguard for democracy.

In 1897 there was published in Paris a French translation of *The Life of Father Hecker*, founder of the Paulists. This event started acute controversy.¹² Immediately Hecker was presented by French protagonists of the American Church as an example of the best Catholic practice in the United States. He became the symbol for American Catholicism in the minds of many Frenchmen, although his teachings and practices had not gone unquestioned even in the United States. Unwarranted assumptions were made concerning his beliefs on the authority of the Church, the extent and character of ecclesiastical discipline, the rules of the religious life, the methods of the apostolate, and explanations of Catholic dogma. So broad were these assumptions that had they been true American Catholicism would have been nothing more than a somewhat modified Protestantism. And so the antagonists of the Church in the United States presented it.

French attacks upon the Catholic Church in America had preceded the publication of Hecker's *Life*. They achieved a new intensity and virulence thereafter, so that the evils of American Catholic teaching and practice were exaggerated to the point of giving scandal. A word of warning is in order here. The fact that the writings of certain authors degenerated into vicious per-

¹²W. Elliott, *Le Père Hecker, fondateur des Paulistes américains* (Paris, 1897).

sonalities and false generalizations does not mean that all of those who opposed "Americanism" belonged in the same category, nor does it mean that because the faults of the American Church as seen by these writers were exaggerated they were totally nonexistent. Most of the participants in this battle of the inkwells were sincere and honest men, beset by very real and very serious problems for which they sought a fair and equitable solution. The France of their day was a France torn asunder by the most vicious type of attack upon the institution for whose very life they were fighting. It was to be expected that the heat of controversy in the market place should carry over into their intellectual work, particularly when that work centered around the very problem that was the source of prevailing popular dissension.

The line of attack adhered to by those who disliked "Americanism" was to discredit American Catholic practice and teaching by questioning the value of the results achieved by the Church in the United States and by emphasizing what they considered questionable doctrinal presentations in vogue in this country.¹³ They wrote, for example, that Father Hecker and his followers had popularized a new kind of Catholic devotion in which the Christian's life is regulated almost exclusively through inner communion with the Holy Ghost. This was labeled "an independent, republican, democratic asceticism,"¹⁴ a "mélange of positivism, of secularism, of materialism, of the worship of wealth, and of anarchy: the principles of the French Revolution."¹⁵ Referring to what was viewed as an American plot to push the

¹³See: C. Maiguen, *La Souveraineté du peuple est une hérésie. A propos d'une brochure du P. Maumus* (Paris, 1892); *Etudes sur l'Américanisme Le Père Hecker, est-il un saint?* (Paris, 1898); *Nationalisme, catholicisme, révolution* (Paris, 1901); *Nouveau catholicisme et nouveau clergé* (Paris, 1901). G. Bonet-Maury, *Le Congrès des religions à Chicago en 1893* (Paris, 1895). F. Boudin, "Ult ramontanisme et démocratie," in *Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie*, Feb., 1897; "L'Américanisme," in *id.*, 1899. A. J. Delattre, S.J., *Un Catholicisme américain* (Namur, 1898); *L'Américanisme. Une planche de salut* (Paris, 1898). H. Delassus, *L'Américanisme et la conjuration antichrétienne* (Lille, 1899). J. P. Tardivel, *La Situation religieuse aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1900). J. de Léonisse, "La Situation religieuse aux Etats-Unis," in *Etudes Franciscaines*, X (July-Dec., 1903), 351-366.

¹⁴A. J. Delattre, S.J., *Un Catholicisme américain*, viii.

¹⁵J. de Léonisse, *Etudes Franciscaines*, X, 353.

cause of Father Hecker in Europe Abbé C. Maignen wrote: "We say to the supporters of Americanism: what you propose for the admiration of the multitude, what you boast of as equalling our most glorious achievements, what you would place upon our altars, is not the Christian, is not the priest, is not the saint, but is your ideas, your illusions, and your errors!"¹⁶ His presentation of "Americanism" fully justified his conclusion that it was one of the greatest dangers menacing the Roman Church.¹⁷ The difficulty was, of course, that he had understood neither the teachings of Father Hecker, nor the true Catholic life of the United States. The arguments used to discredit the achievements of American Catholicism contained an element of truth and, because of that truthful nucleus, they are worthy of more serious consideration than can be given them here.

They may be summarized as follows. Underneath the superficial freedom of the American system burn constantly the fires of fanaticism and prejudice. Religious liberty in theory does not exist in practice, as is evidenced by the unwritten Constitutional proscription against a Catholic president. The spirit of the government is not only anti-Catholic but deist rather than Christian. The real god of the American people and government is humanity—man, not Christ. Since Christ said "Who is not with Me is against Me", true Catholicism cannot give unqualified support to a political system that is essentially un-Christian. American free-thought, which is substituting itself for Protestantism is, like free-thought the world over, positively hostile to religion. It is not content to disbelieve itself, but seeks to destroy the faith of others. The school question is America's gift to Europe. The radically false principle that the education of the child is a function of the State—which leads to the God-less school—originated in New England. American statistics prove that criminality and pauperism increase as the school is separated from the family and the Church. The State "gone bad" makes its schools evil. The evil school depraves youth. The depravity of youth is the diabolic end sought by the supporters of naturalism by placing

¹⁶C. Maignen, *Le Père Hecker, est-il un saint?*, 88.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 390-391.

the school under State patronage. Under this tyrannical regime the Catholics of the United States are condemned to remain for an indefinite period. There are but three courses they may follow: (1) create Catholic schools wherever they can; (2) boast less of the liberty they enjoy in order that they not make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of other people; (3) pray humbly to God that He not permit the sects of America to remove from them their last liberty—the right to establish Catholic schools, even while requiring that they help support the public system.

The development of the American Catholic Church, they continued, is in no way remarkable, but is due to tremendous Catholic European immigration, and to the high birth rate among these immigrants. There has been no success in converting American Protestants to Catholicism, nor has there been any concerted effort to do so. The Catholics of the United States have not even thought of organizing a league of prayer for the conversion of the American people. Such action does not conform to the American spirit; it is too mystical for Americans to appreciate. They depend almost exclusively upon personal and direct action, forgetting entirely that purely supernatural means must be joined to purely natural means in order that an action be complete and effective. There has been much zeal for the conversion of the Indians, but the results have been most mediocre, due in part to the hostile attitude of the Federal Government. There has been a complete failure to win over to Catholicism the large Negro population of the United States, due directly and entirely to a lack of Catholic zeal. Vocations are rare; there are not enough priests to care for the spiritual wants of American Catholics.

The losses of the American Church make the situation even sadder. Not only has it failed to convert the Protestants, the Indians, and the Negroes, but it has failed to keep in the Church millions who came to the United States as Catholics. The causes of these losses are: (1) the contagion of American materialism and atheism; (2) mixed marriages; and (3) lack of priests. These facts inevitably confirm that doctrine of the Church which holds that the principles of liberalism, of the common law, of the free Church in the free State, of the separation of the Church from

the State are not the principles most favorable to the development of religion. It follows that the United States has not discovered a new way to solve the ancient problem of Church and State in a satisfactory manner, and that the American method could not and should not be followed in Europe. The bishops and priests who did great work in America did so in the ancient apostolic manner—by preaching Christ crucified—not by gossiping with reporters from the profane journals—a slap at Archbishop Ireland. The Gospels, not politics, was their armament. "They knew," wrote Léonisse, "that one reaches heaven now, as always, *non pas en chemin de fer, mais seulement par le Chemin de la Croix*."¹⁸

Both parties to the controversy in France over the character of American Catholicism exaggerated the merits or demerits of the American system. Maignen's immoderate attack upon the so-called "liberals" in the American Church was not circulated in the United States until the summer of 1898, when Arthur Preuss, publisher of *The Review*, a Catholic journal of St. Louis, printed long extracts from it. Among the charges included in Maignen's work was that Father Hecker was heretical, and that Cardinal Gibbons and other American bishops were the accomplices of ex-priests in France in an attempt to create an American "syndicate" to push the cause of an American saint in Europe. Cardinal Gibbons at once protested to Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State. In the meantime the controversy had spread from France to Italy and Germany. Pope Leo XIII appointed a commission of cardinals to investigate the charges of American heresy being so openly put forward. This commission reported to the Pope a strong condemnation of "Americanism". Leo XIII, after toning down their strictures somewhat for American consumption, sent the report to Cardinal Gibbons and all members of the American hierarchy in the form of an Apostolic letter entitled *Testem Benevolentiae*, dated 22 January 1899. The Holy Father condemned as heretical certain doctrines which were described as "Americanism", without asserting that these doctrines were actually held by any portion of the American Church. The

¹⁸*Etudes Franciscaines*, X, 366.

Cardinal and other American prelates, as well as the Paulists, replied to this letter in a way to prove to the Pope that Maignen's book was not worthy of consideration as a true exposition of the facts in the case or the teachings of Father Hecker.

This ended the theological controversy, but it did not conclude recriminations within the American hierarchy. Archbishop Corrigan, and the bishops of the Province of Milwaukee, accepted the charge of the existence of heresy as true. The Mid-West Germans went so far as to express to the Holy Father their "pain and just indignation" that some "did not hesitate to proclaim again and again, in Jansenistic fashion, that there was hardly an American who held the condemned errors." This was clearly aimed at Ireland, Gibbons, and their friends, and caused some sharp words at the annual meeting of the American archbishops, held in Baltimore on October 12, 1899.

The larger question remains as to whether there really was an American heresy. Certainly all the American prelates regretted the association of the idea of heresy with Americanism. Some of them, the "conservatives"—felt that the practices and tendencies of their opponents did constitute at least a close approach to heresy. The "liberals", on the other hand, believed that heresy existed only in the minds of certain European writers. The division between the prelates followed closely the lines of division in the struggles over Cahenslyism and the school question. Personal animosities no doubt helped to influence opinions in the matter of doctrine. But it is not accurate nor fair to conclude that personal considerations alone accounted for the doctrinal split. All these members of the hierarchy were sincerely concerned with the welfare of the American Church as they saw it. There were unquestionably certain American developments that were a bit startling and unusual to European eyes. The Church in the United States could not help but be influenced by the social and political conditions of the period. Certain problems were apparent, and for that matter, still are. Catholics, like their American fellow-citizens of other faiths, have been affected by materialism. In the struggle to win a livelihood under conditions that have not always been easy, they have emphasized at times the "active"

rather than the "passive" virtues. But of their basic loyalty to the doctrines of Rome, there is little doubt.

One of the best recent commentaries on American Catholicism came in 1930 from the pen of Alphonse Lugan, a Frenchman whose objectivity may serve as an antidote to the exaggerated strictures of Maignen.¹⁹ He has words of high praise for Catholic America, and words of impartial criticism that make the honest stop and think.

There is no more devoted, practicing Catholic laity in the world, he says, than is to be found in the United States. It has at its service a Church uncontaminated by political connections, serving neither authority nor liberty at the expense of the other. This Church succeeded, under Gibbons and his able colleagues in the hierarchy, in destroying Protestant prejudice that looked upon Catholicism as an institution repugnant to American ideals. Catholicism is not contrary to the spirit of American society, for the Yankee is above all a pragmatist. The Church offers to this pragmatist the solid basis of authority which he seeks to guide his social life, something that Protestantism and Judaism in their various manifestations cannot do. In this situation lies the inherent strength of American Catholicism.

For various reasons the Church of the United States has not fully realized the expectations which it might properly entertain. Cardinal Gibbons and his fellow bishops won for the Church a recognized place in American life, but thus far Catholics have failed to utilize the opportunity offered them by acquiring intellectual prestige. With a few exceptions American Catholicism has produced no scientists, writers, historians, or artists who have commanded the general respect and esteem of their fellow citizens. Major social questions touching upon the basic verities are spread in discussion over the journals and papers of America. The man in the street, Catholic as well as Protestant, is affected by the everyday problems of living. The masses are reading, studying, and discussing questions that involve the deepest truths of revealed religion, yet Catholic leaders remain cloistered in the seclu-

¹⁹*Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis: son passé, son présent, son avenir* (Paris, 1930).

sion of their academic retreats, afraid, or unwilling, or unable to assume the duties which the times lay upon their shoulders. The result is that the Church is disregarded by the intellectual elite of the United States as a force of little consequence in public affairs. In civic prestige the Church has likewise suffered because of the participation of her members in questionable political organizations.

Lugan's "pragmatic Yankee", anxious to find a rock on which to ground his tossing craft of life safe from the uncertainties of a disordered world, this average non-Catholic American of little or no established belief, who nevertheless possesses a true religious sense, has not yet been offered the evidence that Catholicism has the answer to his problems. Somewhere the American Church is at fault, for it has failed to impress America with the soundness of its doctrines. The clergy is not altogether without blame. They may be criticized for allowing racial and national bias to creep occasionally into their activities and utterances. The Church is rich, its members are generous, but in the churches there is too much talk of money and not enough of revealed religion. Sacramentalism is a minor ill that afflicts the American Church. Religious demonstrations tend to become parades wherein frequently the spiritual element is subordinated to other considerations. Divisions and rivalries within the Church alienate those without. Religious orders frequently do not take their neighbors into account, but build colleges, universities, convents, and churches without questioning their necessity. Says Lugan: "*La maladie de la pierre est incurable.*"²⁰ Finally, Lugan claims that one of the most damaging criticisms of the Church here is that Catholic converts are too few. Efforts at proselytizing are timid and inefficacious, so that most American conversions today result from marriages. This situation is almost inexcusable in view of the millions of Americans who claim no religious affiliation but are ready to accept any rule of life that promises them a solid prop in their personal conflict with the world, the flesh, and the devil. There are two principal reasons for this failure. One is

²⁰*Ibid.*, 148.

the Catholic lack of that prestige which is frequently a necessary requisite for efficient exploitation of such opportunities. The second, and perhaps more important reason is that American Catholics shut themselves up in an ivory tower. Quoting Dr. Schumacher, Lugan says that if this were the time of St. Francis or St. Charles, there would not be a single Episcopalian in the United States!²¹

Whatever may be our point of view with regard to those conflicts of the 1890's we must recognize the fact that America possesses a branch of the ancient Roman Church that, for good or ill, has certain unique peculiarities. It is Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic, but it is also free, democratic, and popular. Are these qualities irreconcilable, or are Americans working out for the future a solution of a centuries-old problem involving the relationship between an independent temporal authority on the one hand, and an independent spiritual authority on the other? The answer lies in the future.

²¹*Ibid.*, 148. The quotation is from *The Ecclesiastical Review*, Aug., 1921, 148.

CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN YONKERS*

THOMAS C. CORNELL

THERE is no record or tradition of any religious service of the Roman Catholic Church in Yonkers until the time of the construction of the Croton Aqueduct, about 1836-9, when the Rev. James Cummiskey exercised his office among the laborers on the work from Sing Sing to New York, and came occasionally to say mass in Yonkers, in such private room or rude building as he could obtain. Little settlements of temporary dwellings were made along the line convenient to the work, and many of the laborers on the bridge over the Sawmill river occupied the adjacent uplands of Anthony Archer, chiefly on the bluff where now Summit Street runs, between the aqueduct and the river, and a building in this neighborhood was set apart for religious service, and was thus the first Catholic Chapel in Yonkers, and here Father Cummiskey heard the confessions and said mass for the people. He was a large man, of portly presence and mature years, and soon won the respect of all whom he met, and people especially welcomed his coming when the dissensions of the laborers among themselves threatened to break out in a riot. Father Cummiskey had been educated at Mt. St. Mary's, Md., and was ordained there on the 25th of March, 1820, by Archbishop Marechal. He was the first pastor of St. Joseph's Church in New York, which had been dedicated in 1834. It was said that he might have retained a little congregation in his Yonkers Chapel if he had continued the service, but he did not return after the completion of the aqueduct, and the few Catholics who remained were dependent on such neighboring missions as they could reach.

The neighboring parts of the state were but little in advance

*This private study, prepared in 1883, was supplied by the Hon. Francis X. Donoghue, a nonagenarian. It was in the home of Judge Donoghue's parents that Father John Ryan, S.J., stayed when he came to care for the workers on the new railroad. The author, Thomas C. Cornell, was employed as a civil engineer in the construction of the Hudson River Railroad in 1847. The study is now published because of its valued notes on an important Catholic center of the Archdiocese of New York.

of Yonkers. St. Paul's Church, in Harlem, had been commenced in 1833 and blessed in 1834, and was then nearer Yonkers than any other church. St. Raymond's in Westchester, had been founded in 1843, by the Rev. Father Villanis, and was dedicated by Bishop Hughes on the feast of St. Raymond in 1844, and no other name having been proposed, the bishop adopted the name of the saint of the day. There is a tradition that mass was said in the town of Westchester in 1820, in a house now occupied by the Novitiate of the Christian brothers, then occupied by Dominic Lynch. The Catholic Almanac of 1822, finds but nine priests in the diocese of New York, which then included the whole state as well as the northern part of New Jersey, and of these nine, "Rev. Philip Larissy attends regularly at Staten Island and different other congregations along the Hudson river." In 1817-8 the Rev. Arthur Langdill had charge on the Hudson, and in 1818 Bishop Connolly notes that he had written to Mr. Langdill, "care of Mr. McIntire at New Burgh." Bishop Connolly was practically the first bishop of New York. The diocese had been created by Pope Pius VII, in 1808, and the Rev. Luke Concannen, of the order of St. Dominic, then prior of St. Clement's, at Rome, was made the first bishop, and was consecrated by the Prefect of the Propaganda, but he did not live to reach his See, and in 1814 Father Connolly, also O.S.D., and already the successor of Dr. Concannen, as prior of St. Clement's, was consecrated in Rome as Bishop of New York. When he arrived, in 1815, he found but four priests in his great diocese. Indeed the second Catholic Church in the city of New York—the old cathedral on Prince and Mott streets—was only consecrated the same year, having been founded in 1809; and there had been no Catholic Church at all, even in the City of New York, until St. Peter's was founded on the corner of Barclay and Church streets in 1785, after the revolution, and the repeal of the old penal laws of the province. Before this, for a hundred years, even the saying of mass had been illegal, and for a priest to come into the province was an offense punishable by imprisonment or death, and to harbor a priest incurred a fine of two hundred pounds and three days in the pillory. In Gov. Dougan's

time—1683-8, before the revolution of 1688—mass was said by the Rev. Thomas Harvey, a Jesuit, in a room fitted up in the governor's house, for Governor Dongan was a Catholic. The first priest ever in New York as far as known was the Jesuit, Isaac Jogues, a French missionary among the Indians, who had been captured and tortured by the hostile Iroquois, and was rescued and ransomed by the Dutch, and brought to New Amsterdam in 1643. But the French Jesuits before this, had founded successful missions and made many converts of Indian tribes in Canada, and a little later succeeded in establishing themselves in what is now the state of New York. The Jesuit LeMoyne discovered the salt springs of Onondaga in 1654 and a chapel was built there, and another at Cayuga Lake, etc., "and there," says Bancroft, "in the heart of New York, the solemn services of the Roman Church were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom." But in the French wars the missions of the French Jesuits were suppressed.

But returning to the first beginnings of the Catholic Church in the neighborhood of Yonkers—on the 29th of May, 1833, Bishop Dubois, the successor of Bishop Connolly, laid the cornerstone of a Catholic College at Nyack, but the work met with great opposition. It was about the time that a mob burned the Ursuline Convent near Boston, and the college at Nyack was burned before it was quite ready for occupation. To take its place, in 1839, Bishop Hughes purchased the property at Fordham, where St. John's College is now situated, and it was opened for the reception of students in 1841, the Rev. John McCloskey, now cardinal, being its first president. St. Joseph's Theological Seminary and the adjoining church were built on the college grounds in 1845, and in the autumn of 1846, the college was placed by the bishop, in the hands of the Jesuits, and most of the professors being priests, they were able to extend their missions to the adjacent parts of Westchester county, and of course, Yonkers came under their care. In the autumn of 1847, work was commenced on the construction of the Hudson River Railroad through Yonkers, the writer being a civil engineer on the

work, and

THE REV. JOHN RYAN, S.J.

one of the professors at Fordham, and later the first president of St. Xavier's College in the city of New York, was charged with the mission among the laborers. Before the end of the year he had made it a rule to say mass at Yonkers every Sunday, and to hear confessions on Saturday evening and Sunday morning. His little congregation assembled in such private room as could be obtained. The first mass was said in the principal room of a dwelling house near George Morgan's Dye Works, not far from where Nepperhan avenue now crosses the Sawmill river, Hugh Donoghue serving the mass and the writer being one of the worshippers. Mr. Morgan afterwards offered the use of a store room belonging to his office, where the little congregation shared the space with boxes of logwood awaiting shipment. Both the dwelling house and the dye works were long since burned. In 1848 Mr. Ethan Flagg erected the first three-story brick building in Yonkers—as, with slight changes it now stands on the corner of Palisade avenue (then Factory street), and New Main street (then Mechanic street), and the upper floor was hired for Father Ryan's Sunday services during the summer and autumn of 1848. But early in 1848 Father Ryan thought that the time had come to attempt to build a Catholic church in Yonkers, and with this in view, made collections among the workmen. The contractors on the railroad—Messrs. John P. Manrow & Co., from Glenwood, south to Spuyten Duyvil, and Messrs. Cummings & Pollock from Glenwood, north to Hastings—facilitated the collections on their respective works. The Hon. Wm. W. Woodworth, who had then recently represented the Poughkeepsie district in Congress, had an interest in Manrow's contract and furnished the capital, and from the spring of 1848 spent most of his time on the work, and about the same time, in connection with Messrs. Josiah Rich and James Scrymser, purchased what was called the fifty acre tract, extending from Broadway to the Hudson, and from the Sawmill river southerly to the Vark property, one hundred feet south of the present lines of St. Mary street. At that time there was no house or road on any part of the land, except here and there a

house on Broadway, but the new owners immediately laid it out in streets and lots, and commenced improvements. Judge Woodworth offered to give the land for a Catholic Church, where St. Mary's now stands, and the offer was accepted by Father Ryan. The lot deeded was eighty-five feet front on South street, as it was named in the deed, one hundred and thirty feet deep and one hundred and sixty-four wide along the Vark line in the rear. The name of South street was changed to St. Mary street as soon as the name proposed for the new church was known. It was understood that the three partners in the fifty acre tract had agreed among themselves to give land for three churches. Judge Woodworth to the Catholics, and Messrs. Rich and Scrymser to the Presbyterians and the Baptists, but as the latter part of this plan was never carried out, the land deed to Bishop Hughes in the summer of 1848, was really the joint gift of these three gentlemen.

Soon after obtaining the land, Father Ryan procured plans for a church from Mr. Patrick C. Keely, an architect then of considerable reputation, and who has since designed and built a great number of the best Catholic churches in the United States, one of the latest being the new church of St. Francis Xavier in New York. Mr. Keely's plans for the original St. Mary's of Yonkers are still in existence, and the church was built in conformity with them, forty by seventy feet, with a small sacristy, thirteen by twenty-three feet, in the rear, and enough of the lower part of the brick work of the tower in front to make an entrance porch. Even this seemed so large in proportion to the needs of the congregation, and especially to its ability, that the writer, with Father Ryan's consent, went to Bishop Hughes to urge a smaller church. But the bishop replied that the plan ought rather to be larger than smaller. He added, "I have always found the numbers as well as the ability of such missions to exceed first anticipations." Father Ryan wished the church dedicated "to the Blessed Virgin Mary conceived without sin," and it is hence called either Church of the Immaculate Conception, or St. Mary's, at pleasure. A contract for the mason work was made with Mr. Peter F. Peek in July, 1848, for \$2,045, which the extras increased to about \$2,200,

and of this sum Mr. Peek agreed to give one year's credit for \$400, and in addition it was provided that in case the money could not be collected, work could be stopped at any time on paying for the portion actually done. But the money did not fail and in October Father Ryan ventured to contract with William H. Hanlon to put on the roof, lay the floors and put in doors, for \$1,065, which some extras made about \$1,200. This work was completed in December, and the windows were roughly boarded up, with here and there an old sash to let in a little light—sashes were put in the vestry, some rude board benches were made in the church—a couple of stoves were set up, and thus, with bare brick walls and no ceiling but the roof, Father Ryan was able to give his congregation their Christmas mass of 1848 in their own church. One thousand dollars of the three thousand four hundred dollars the work had cost was borrowed on mortgage through Mr. A. J. Donnelly, now Father Donnelly of St. Michael's, New York, and the remainder was obtained by personal collections from the people, most of them made by Father Ryan himself, the writer often accompanying him, and most of it in sums of fifty cents to one dollar. His memoranda, still extant, show the diligence of himself and his associates, not only in Yonkers but elsewhere. His notes contain such entries as these: "From Tarrytown—Eagleston's men, \$25.60. George Clark & Co.'s men, \$58.25. High Bridge, \$20.75. From Tuckahoe, \$34. By Father Du Ranquet, from Croton Falls, \$33. From other places, \$49.25. Men at Forest's Castle, \$6.75. Murphy's men, New Haven Railroad, \$16.45. Subscriptions to Father Ryan in New York and Jersey City, \$500," etc., etc., besides hundreds of names of givers of small sums. The contributors from Yonkers, not a few of whom were not Catholics, include many names still remembered. Moses H. Grinnell, then living here, was one of the most liberal, giving \$25. Among the others were Wm. W. Scrugham, P. W. Paddock, T. W. Ludlow, S. W. Chambers, John Loud, De Witt C. Kellinger, L. P. Rose, L. Stewart, W. F. Groshon, Owen Logue, T. C. Cornell, Hugh Donoghue, Frank McGrath, C. M. Odell, W. P. Reivere, Jacob Read, E. F. Shonard, John Gaffeny, Lawrence Handrathy, Henry Gale, Mr.

Williams, Patrick Brown, John M. Mathews, John Crisfield, Patrick Reynolds, John Moffat, etc.

The church walls remained unplastered with no ceiling but the open roof for nearly three years, and the only seats were rude board benches without backs, the men all sitting on the gospel side and all the women on the epistle side. But in the summer of 1849 enameled glass windows were put in, as they stand today, at a cost of about \$500, which however, included a sanctuary rail. And then Judge Woodworth offered to pay the cost of the spire, if the church would complete the brick work of the tower, and this was all done in accordance with Mr. Keely's designs, in the autumn of 1849, at a cost of \$600. In all these building contracts Father Ryan's building committee had been Wm. W. Woodworth, Thos. C. Cornell and Hugh Donoghue. And at the end of 1849 the church had thus cost, exclusive of land, about \$4,500. This was the portion of the church which today (January, 1883) lies in front of the transepts, and it remained thus unfinished until the autumn of 1851.

As soon as Father Ryan had obtained a place in which to hold it, he began to organize a Sunday school, teaching the children himself, and he eagerly sought out among them those who seemed to have voices or capacity for music, out of whom he might train a choir. He exercised them in singing and taught them the elements of musical notation every Sunday afternoon he could be present. But in September, 1850, the College of St. Francis Xavier was opened in Fifteenth street, New York, with the Rev. Father John Ryan as its first president, and his duties there made it impossible for him to continue his care of the mission at Yonkers.

Father John Ryan, S.J., was born in Ireland, but came when young to this country and went to Kentucky and entered St. Mary's College, then under charge of the Jesuits, and after completing his classical course entered their novitiate and in due time was received into the order and was ordained to the priesthood, and soon after he came to New York with the Jesuits who took charge of St. John's College, Fordham, in 1846. Father Ryan remained at Fordham until he was put in charge of the

College of St. Francis Xavier. He had not been engaged in the classical schools which the Jesuits had previously conducted in New York and from which they date the founding of the college in 1847. When Father Ryan retired from the presidency of St. Xavier's College, he obtained Papal dispensation and left the Jesuits, and as a secular priest was appointed by Archbishop Hughes on the 25th of October, 1855, to the charge of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, then about being built in East Fourteenth Street, New York. The church was dedicated on the 16th of May, 1858, the Rev. Eugene Maguire, pastor in Yonkers in 1854 and 6, being then assistant. Father Ryan remained pastor until his death on the 22nd of March, 1861.

Father Ryan was a spare man, of medium height, with dark hair and complexion and a thin grave face, decidedly Hibernian in speech and appearance, but with the quiet suavity of the Jesuits, and if not courtly, was at least gracious and pleasant in manners. The writer's relations with him during his charge in Yonkers became so intimate and kindly that he takes pleasure in this mention of him.

Before Father Ryan finally gave up his charge of the little Jesuit Mission in Yonkers, on the 16th of June, 1850, he appointed a lay committee of the church, consisting of Hugh Donoghue, Patrick Reynolds, John Loud, Owen Logue, Michael Coffey, John Mathews, James Clements, Thomas Dunford, Thomas Cahill, and Thomas C. Cornell, secretary and treasurer. Father Ryan had often called in the services of his associates at St. John's—Fathers Driscoll, Daubresse, Du Ranquet, Tissot, Jouin, Bienvenue and perhaps some who had been Scholastics. For a time, in 1850, Father Bienvenue attended the mission, coming from Fordham every Saturday evening and returning on Sunday evening. He was succeeded by Rev. Father L. Jouin, S.J., whose charge continued into the summer of 1851. But by this time the congregation thought itself able to maintain a resident pastor, and after consultation with the lay committee, and with the approval of Father Jouin, and also of Father Ryan, the secretary made the request to Archbishop Hughes, and in prompt response, in July, 1851,

REV. THOMAS S. PRESTON

now the Right Reverend Monsignor Preston, holding the dignity of a prelate of the Papal household, arrived in Yonkers, and took charge of the new parish. Father Preston was then a recent convert from the ministry of the Episcopal Church. He was born of a long line of Protestant ancestors, in Hartford, Conn., in July, 1824, was educated at Trinity College, Hartford, graduating there in 1843, and entered the Theological Seminary in New York, and was ordained to the Episcopal ministry by Bishop Brownell in 1846, and was assistant minister of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in New York, with the Rev. Dr. John M. Forbes, when they were both received into the Catholic Church in 1849. He soon afterwards entered St. Joseph's Theological Seminary at Fordham, and was ordained a priest of the Roman Catholic Church by the Coadjutor Bishop (now cardinal) McCloskey on the 16th of November, 1850, and was made assistant at the cathedral until he was sent to Yonkers the following summer. The church at Yonkers was then still in the unfinished condition, without plastering, or ceiling, or pews, in which Father Ryan had left it in 1849. But by All Saints' Day the interior was neatly finished and pews had taken the place of the rude benches, and on the 16th of November, 1851, Archbishop Hughes blessed the church and gave confirmation. Several other clergymen were present, and the Rev. Arthur J. Donnelly, now pastor of St. Michael's, New York, was master of ceremonies. Mr. Donnelly had been one of Father Ryan's advisers in the secular affairs of St. Mary's as early as 1848. Judge Woodworth at this time occupied the Manor House as his residence, and as this narrative is drawn out by the bicentennial celebration of the Manor House, it may not be inappropriate to mention that after the service at the church the archbishop and Father Preston and the writer, with two or three of the judge's other friends, dined with him there.

After finishing the church, Father Preston gave a mission on the occasion of the jubilee then recently proclaimed by Pius IX, preaching himself twice a day for the two weeks, and hearing confessions in the intervals. He brought Father Driscoll, S.J.,

to instruct and hear the confessions of those who understood only the Celtic language. People came from Spuyten Duyvil, Kingsbridge, Tuckahoe, Hastings and Dobbs Ferry, and the communicants were about two thousand. At this time there was no organ gallery in the church, but a small organ was placed in the corner, on the gospel side of the altar, and screened by red curtains, and Prof. Wm. F. Muller, still one of the best trained musicians in Yonkers, was engaged as organist and teacher of the choir. In 1852 the organ gallery was first erected and the organ put upon it, and Prof. Muller continued in charge of the music during Father Preston's stay, with the exception of a month or two in 1853, when he was employed at St. John's. St. Mary's Church, in Father Preston's time, contained eighty-four pews, including eight in the organ gallery, making four hundred and twenty seats, and the pew list of January, 1853, still extant in Father Preston's hand, shows only six seats were unrented out of the four hundred and twenty.

In the spring of 1852 the church possessed but the original lot of eighty-five feet front on St. Mary's street. There were then two vacant lots lying west of it, now in the church enclosure, and seven lots on the opposite side of the street, forming the plot where the school house was afterwards built, making nine lots (of 25 x 100 feet each) which were offered, and urged upon Father Preston at \$250 a lot, and the whole price upon as long credit as he chose, and in the summer of 1852 he ventured to assume the responsibility, took a deed of the lots in the name of the bishop and gave a mortgage on them for the \$2,250. Immediately after this purchase, the small school house, fifteen by twenty-five feet, on the west side of the lots north of St. Mary's street was erected, and in September, 1852, a parish school was opened in it under a lay teacher. In fact, the parish school had been opened in the early spring of 1852, in the basement of the dwelling house still standing on the northwest corner of St. Mary's and Clinton streets. There were at this time not more than two or three other houses on either of those streets, and the school had been commenced with less than a dozen boys and girls together, and it did not exceed two dozen when first opened

in the new school house, but a year later the number exceeded eighty and when closed in March, 1854, there were ninety-two.

At this time the Yonkers mission included Hastings, Dobbs Ferry and Tarrytown. Father Ryan had occasionally said mass at those places and the Very Rev. Dr. Power, V.G., had been for several years a frequent visitor with friends at Hastings, where he had sometimes said mass, but Dr. Power died in April, 1849. After Father Preston's coming these missions were regularly attended. The second mass on Sundays and holy days was always said at Yonkers, the first being said every second week at Tarrytown and the alternate week at Hastings or Dobbs Ferry. Father Preston bought the land and built the church at Tarrytown, the people there contributing the means, and among them Washington Irving giving one hundred dollars, and it was blessed by Archbishop Hughes in the summer of 1853, his secretary, the Rev. James R. Bayley, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, accompanying him, as well as Father Preston and the writer. There was such difficulty in procuring a proper site at Hastings that the church was not built till later, but the site was obtained by Father Preston.

There was no parochial residence in Yonkers at this time, and Father Preston boarded as he could. In the summer of 1853, however, he ventured to undertake a house. The memoranda of his wishes, still extant, show that he did not ask for much—a small parlor, a dining room and a kitchen, with bed rooms above, making a house less than twenty-five by thirty feet, which was built by John Dooly, for about \$2,200. In order to pay this and to discharge some floating debt remaining from previous improvements, the old mortgage for \$1,000 was paid and a new one given for \$3,000. Work was commenced on the house in September, but it was hardly enclosed when Father Preston, on the 20th of October, 1853, was recalled by Archbishop Hughes, to become his secretary on the elevation of Bishop Bayley to the new See of Newark. The congregation of St. Mary's heard of this recall with great regret, and a delegation, among whom was the writer, went down to petition the archbishop to reconsider the call, but the archbishop promptly intimated that such petitions could not

even be considered. "I must look on every side," he explained in a kindly way, "and must be left free to do what seems to me best for all." The Rev. John McMahon was sent in October, 1853, in Father Preston's place, and on making his financial statement in assuming control, stated from the altar that Father Preston during the two years and three months of his pastoral charge of Yonkers, had drawn but two hundred dollars for his own salary and personal expenses. Father Preston is now vicar general and of the cardinal's council, and has been pastor of St. Ann's since 1856, and chancellor of the diocese since 1855.

THE REV. EUGENE MAGUIRE

came on the 10th of May, 1854, in place of Mr. McMahon, who returned to Ireland. Father Maguire remained in charge until the 20th of February, 1856. The school had been discontinued two months before he came and was not reopened during his stay, and the little school house became the residence of the sexton. It was during Father Maguire's time that St. Mary's Cemetery, in the Sprain valley, was acquired. The portion lying north of the present entrance from the Sprain road was a gift to the church from Mr. John Murtha, it being part of the farm which formed his summer residence, and a small plot within it he had already occupied as a family burial place. At this time the cemetery had no opening on the Sprain road, its only entrance being from the lane on the east side. The portion of the cemetery south of the gateway to the Sprain road, and including the side of the gateway itself, were subsequent acquisitions by purchase.

The state census of 1855, taken in Father Maguire's time, reported the usual attendance at the Catholic Church of Yonkers at eight hundred, which would indicate a Catholic population at that time of about twelve or thirteen hundred. The same census makes the population of the village of Yonkers (first incorporated that year) 4,170, and the population of the whole town 7,554. The census of 1850 had made the town 4,165.

Father Maguire was born in Ireland but came young to this country and made his theological studies at St. Joseph's Seminary, Fordham, and was ordained there by Bishop Hughes, on

the 30th of May, 1847. In 1848 he succeeded Father Higgins as pastor of St. Raymond's, Westchester. In 1853 he was at St. Mary's, Rondout, in 1854 was sent to Yonkers, in 1857 was assistant at St. Joseph's, New York, in 1858 was Father Ryan's assistant at the Church of the Immaculate Conception in East Fourteenth street, and from 1866 to his death was pastor of St. Paul's in One Hundred and Seventeenth street. In consequence of failing health he sailed for Europe in September, 1882, and died at Pau in the south of France, in January, 1883.

THE REV. EDWARD LYNCH

was sent as pastor to St. Mary's, Yonkers, on the departure of Father Maguire on the 20th of February, 1856. Edward Lynch was born in 1829 in Tralee, County Kerry, Ireland, and when he was four years old his parents, John and Mary Lynch, came to this country with a numerous family and settled at Syracuse in 1833. The elder brothers became men of wealth and prominence in their new home, one of them becoming the first Mayor of Syracuse, but Edward showed from childhood a desire for a religious life, and devoting himself to study graduated at St. John's College, Fordham, and soon after—having with difficulty obtained the consent of his family—entered St. Joseph's Theological Seminary, at Fordham, and was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Hughes 17th August, 1854, at the same time with the Rt. Rev. Francis McNierny, now bishop of Albany, who had also been his classmate in college. Father Lynch was first sent to St. Mary's, Rondout, where he remained until he was transferred to Yonkers.

Father Lynch's parish school had his most zealous care. The school had been discontinued for nearly two years. He had hardly been a fortnight in the parish when he opened a school of twenty-two girls under Miss Josephine Dwight, to whom he surrendered his sacristy, and a school of about as many boys under Mr. James Webb in the small school house. A few weeks later Mr. John J. Hughes, now the Rev. Father Hughes, of St. Jerome's Church, Mott Haven, was put in charge of the boys, and the basement of the little school house was fitted up for the girls, whose number

increased to more than eighty during the year they remained under Miss Dwight. In the autumn Father Lynch undertook to provide a room for the boys under the church. Father Ryan, in building the church, had said that he did not wish to leave it possible to put any basement room under it, but Father Lynch found the want of such a room so great that he undertook it, underpinning the church walls where necessary and replacing the stone piers under the floor with columns. This work cost about \$600, and the boys were removed to the new room early in 1857. And when Mr. Hughes entered the college at Fordham, Mr. O'Reilly took his place as teacher of the boys, in the basement of the church, and the little school house has been occupied by the girls since 1857, under the care of the Sisters of Charity.

MT. ST. VINCENT

But the first coming of the Sisters of Charity should have fuller mention in a notice of the beginnings of the Catholic Church in Yonkers. The Mother house of the Sisters, near Fifth avenue and One Hundred and Seventh street, had recently been taken for Central Park, and they now desired a larger place, and sought one on the Hudson between Tarrytown and New York. Mother M. Angela, a sister of Archbishop Hughes, was then the superior. She had been Sister Angela, in charge of St. Vincent's Hospital, until the preceding December (1855). At Mother Angela's request the present writer had accompanied her and her secretary, Sister William Anna, in the examination of the places offered, and afterwards invited her to visit the Forrest property. He had known the place and its owner since the autumn of 1847, when Mr. and Mrs. Forrest, soon after their purchase, were studying the position for their house. They had intended building on the point since cut by the railroad—"a cluster of towers in the later Norman style"—said Mr. Forrest. The present situation was selected and the walls partly built before the wife ceased visiting the work. And now, before showing it to Mother Angela, the writer sent for Mr. Forrest to come and see him. "The place has cost me a hundred thousand dollars," said Mr. Forrest, "and if the Sisters want it they can have it at cost, and I will make them

a present of five thousand dollars towards the purchase." Appointment was made for him to meet Mother Angela on the ground. Not content with showing her the beauties of the place, and the castle, the cottage and the great stone barn, he wanted her to come to the pond near the gate and see his fish come in shoals to eat bread from his hand. Mother Angela did not care to look for any other place, and at her request the writer conducted Archbishop Hughes over it that he might advise her about the purchase. "This is the place!" said the Archbishop, on seeing it, and a few minutes later, reaching the castle, he added, "but that must come down." Second thought, however, preserved it as a residence for the chaplain. The purchase was consummated in December, 1856, and Mr. Forrest brought his certified check for \$5,000 as his contribution. The title is in the Sisters of Charity, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York. Excavations for the foundation of the convent were begun early in the following spring, and the corner stone of the chapel was laid by the Archbishop on the 8th of September, 1857. In his address he claimed for the chapel of such a religious order, the dignity of a parish church, and spoke with force of the far reaching influence of the institution of which they were then laying the foundations. A small colony of Sisters had already occupied the castle, and in the same month, two of them, Sister M. Chrysostom and Sister M. Winnefred, were put in charge of the girls' department of the parish school in Yonkers. But as long as he lived Father Lynch provided a carriage to bring the Sisters to the school every morning and to return them to their home every night. For this was ten years before the Sisters had their own house of St. Aloysius in Yonkers.

THE NEW SCHOOL HOUSE

But Father Lynch considered the building of a large new school house his most important work. He said the people would always contribute freely toward the improvement or enlargement of the church, and he must therefore build the school house first. And in 1859 he felt able to undertake it. The new school house was fifty by fifty-five feet, two stories, with basement and attic, and

was made ready for the opening of the school in September, 1860. But the first use of the school house had been to hold a fair to help pay for it. It had cost, including furniture, etc., about \$10,000. Messrs. James and David Stewart had done the mason work for \$4,325. John Sherwood and his associates had done the carpenter work for \$3,775.

Sister Chrysostom and Sister Winnefred remained in charge of the school until the death of Sister Chrysostom (28th January, 1865) except about a year and a half in 1861-2, when in consequence of the impaired health of Sister Chrysostom, her place was taken by Sister M. Ambrosia, now (January, 1883) in charge of the Girls Protectory at Westchester. Sister Chrysostom had unusual gifts, both as a teacher and otherwise, and is still held in loving honor by all who knew her, and although long sick with consumption, continued at her work until a few weeks before her death. She was succeeded by Sister Ann Cecilia, with Sister M. Maurice as assistant.

It was Father Lynch's expectation that at some future time a second school house would become necessary, where the boys and girls might have separate buildings, but for the present he put the Sisters with the girls on the first floor, and the boys were put on the second story under the care of the Christian Brothers, and the third floor of the new school house was fitted up as the Brothers' dwelling. The Brothers' school was opened in September, 1861, with Brother Clementian (now vice-president of Manhattan College) as director, with three assistants and about one hundred and fifty boys. Mr. Riley's school in the basement of the church the preceding year had numbered about one hundred and twenty-five boys. The girls' school in the spring of 1857, before the coming of the Sisters, had numbered about eighty-three, but when Sister Chrysostom and Sister Winnefred came, the number increased to above one hundred, and when they moved into the new school house in September, 1860, the girls were about one hundred and thirty-five, and at the time of Sister Chrysostom's death, they had reached one hundred and fifty-five, making the whole school of boys and girls above three hundred.

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE CHURCH

followed soon after the building of the schools. This work had been embarrassed by want of space. The rear line of the church property, at that time, passed through the place of the present sanctuary. The death of Judge Vark, in 1855, had put his land in market, and as early as 1857 the writer had attempted unsuccessfully to buy of the administrator the strip which the church needed, and it was five years later before he could make an opportunity to get it, in connection with Mr. Disbrow, who bought the remainder. It was then decided to add transepts, chancel and vestry as they now stand. The south end of the old church was temporarily boarded up, so that it could be used until the connection could be made with the new building, when a new wood ceiling and new pews were put in the whole church. In the original church there were but two aisles and eighty-four pews. The enlarged church has three aisles and one hundred and sixty-two pews on the floor and thirty-four in the gallery, and will seat one thousand persons. The enlargement was finished in the autumn of 1863, at a cost of about \$13,000, Messrs. James and David Stewart doing the mason work and Mr. Anthony Imhoff the carpenter work.

ASSISTANT PASTORS

The parish work increased so that in December, 1859, Father Lynch had his first assistant, the Rev. S. A. Mulledy (formerly of the Society of Jesus), who remained until July, 1861. After him came Father Biretta, an Italian Franciscan, whose superiors had allowed him to visit America as a secular priest, and early in January, 1863, the Rev. Patrick Brady came in Father Biretta's place and remained until May. The Rev. Father Byrne was assistant from June till October, 1864, when the Rev. Wm. H. Oram came in his place and remained until May, 1865. The Rev. Father Byrne also returned for a short time early in 1865.

FATHER LYNCH'S DEATH AND CHARACTER

At this time Father Lynch was on his death bed, having been in failing health for nearly a year, and while still pastor he died at the parochial residence on the 5th of May, 1865, of consump-

tion, in the tenth year of his pastorate at Yonkers, and much mourned by his people and by the citizens of Yonkers, all of whom esteemed him. The bell of St. John's Episcopal Church was tolled as his funeral procession passed on the way to the railroad. His remains were interred beside his parents and kindred in St. Agnes' Cemetery, Syracuse. It was Father Lynch's habit to consult with the people of his charge about all his undertakings. He was much among them, and always spoke freely of what he thought to be the needs of the church and what he thought it might be best to do, and of the reasons for it. He did not go into discussions; but rather stated his own wishes and hopes in a way not to invite objections. Whenever he met his people, in the house or by the wayside, he talked of these things till they saw them as he did, and then, whatever he undertook, the people were heartily with him. When the money was needed he did not scruple to take up the Sunday collections himself, laying aside the vestments, coming down from the altar and carrying the plate, and a layman followed with another plate to receive the pennies. And outside of the church he interested himself in the local and the public welfare. He gave all his influence to the side of the government, from the first breaking out of the war in 1861. He brought his people and the children from his schools to the great fair held in February, 1864, in the then new building now the Macfarlane Silk Factory, in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, and took his part at the dinner given there by its friends to all the Yonkers clergy. He was quiet and unostentatious in his manners, and very simple in his way of living, and although possessed of means of his own, was contented to live, with his assistants and friends, in the narrow accommodations of the parochial residence as it then stood. He was a prudent financier, but with the utmost economy in the great improvements he had made, added to the previous debts of the church, it stood mortgaged for \$18,000.

Father Lynch was a spare man, rather above the medium height, with a pale and intellectual face, and head well developed in the upper part, of well bred, kindly, gentle manners, and being short-sighted, always wore spectacles. He was social, liked his friends

and family about him, and his younger brother Andrew, and his elder brother Cornelius, with his wife, were much with him. Cornelius died in his house.

THE REV. CHARLES T. SLEVIN

was sent to succeed Father Lynch in the beginning of May, 1865. Father Slevin was born at Fintona, Ireland, on the 12th of July, 1826, and made his classical studies with a view to the priesthood, before he came to this country in 1847. He made his theological studies partly at Mt. St. Mary's, Md., and partly at St. Joseph's, Fordham, where he was ordained. He served as assistant at St. Bridget's for four years, and was then sent to Dover Plains, Dutchess County, where his charge covered fifty miles in diameter, and where now six priests are employed, and he was often compelled to make long journeys fasting. It was after several years' service at Dover Plains that he came to Yonkers in 1865. Father Slevin was a tall and well built man, with dark hair and rather florid complexion, and apparently of great physical vigor, and was generally popular. For two years after his coming to Yonkers he had no assistant. One of his first works was the erection of a handsome white marble altar and tabernacle, in 1866, in place of the wooden altar previously used. In 1867 he had the altar recess decorated with three large paintings on the wall. The picture over the high altar is eleven feet wide and fifteen feet high, after Murillo's celebrated painting of the Immaculate Conception. The side pieces, each eight feet wide and fifteen feet high, represent on the gospel side, the worship of the Magi, and on the epistle side, the bringing of the little children to our Lord. The figures are life size and the work is very good, and the pictures add much to the attraction of the church. They were painted by Augero, and paintings and altar cost about \$2,000.

Father Slevin made the first addition to the parochial residence in the summer of 1868, fifteen years after it was first built, by adding a kitchen to the east side, and the following year he added the front building, furnishing a new parlor and office, and several rooms above and doubling the accommodations of the building. The whole work cost about \$10,000. The Messrs. Stewart were the masons and Messrs. Ackert and Quick the carpenters.

The parish school was continued by Father Slevin as he found it. At his coming, in May, 1865, Sister Ann Cecilia and Sister M. Maurice were conducting the girls' school of about one hundred and fifty-four children, and the Brothers had about one hundred and fifty boys. The boys' school was discontinued in November, 1876, until it was reopened by Rev. Charles R. Corley, the successor of Father Slevin, in September, 1877.

Father Slevin's first assistant was the Rev. Albert A. Lings, who was sent in October, 1867, and remained until he was made pastor of the new church—St. Joseph's in 1871. The Rev. Bernard Goodwin came in his place in June, 1871, and remained until February, 1872, when he was succeeded by the Rev. J. Byron, who remained until June, 1874. But during this time Father Slevin's health had been so much impaired that he obtained leave of absence and went to Europe, the Rev. Edward McKenna taking his place as pastor from February to October, 1873, when Father Slevin returned with improved health and resumed his place. In June, 1874, on the removal of Father Byron to New York, the Rev. Eugene McKenna was sent as assistant, and remained until May, 1875, when Father James W. Hays served for a short time. Before this, however, in October, 1874, the Rev. Andrew O'Reilly was sent as assistant, and still remains, now in the ninth year of his service. But Father Slevin's health had continued to fail, and in June, 1877, the Rev. Charles R. Corley was sent to supply the place, and on the 18th of July, 1878, the Rev. Charles T. Slevin, while still holding the position of pastor of St. Mary's, died among his kindred at North Easton, Mass.

Father Slevin took pains to have good church music, and was the first to have a paid choir at St. Mary's. In 1872 he had rebuilt the organ gallery and placed upon it a much larger organ, which still remains. He had reduced the mortgage debt of the church from \$18,000 to \$12,000, but in the infirm health of his later years, a floating debt had again begun to accumulate until it reached between two and three thousand dollars.

Two important events in the development of the Catholic Church in Yonkers, which had occurred during Father Slevin's

time, ought to be here narrated. First—the founding of St. Aloysius in 1868, and second—the setting off of the new parish of St. Joseph's in 1871.

ST. ALOYSIUS

The Sisters of Charity had often been solicited to take charge of small boys, so young as still to need woman's care, and they finally decided to undertake a boarding school for this purpose, when a suitable site could be obtained. In response to Mother Jerome's inquiry, the writer had recommended the handsome property formerly occupied by Judge Aaron Vark, one of the magnates of Yonkers in the first half of the present century. It joined the church on the south, and was well situated for the Sisters' purpose, and its acquisition had been contemplated for some time when an opportunity was found to open negotiations and it was purchased by the corporation of the Sisters of Charity in November, 1868, for \$42,000. It comprised four and one-half acres of land on the highest ground in the neighborhood, and the handsome improvements of Judge Vark. Important additions have since been made to the house, giving it four times its original accommodation, and the institution has been successful, and is now full, but its chief influence in Yonkers has been in thus bringing, almost into the heart of the city, a community of the Sisters of Charity. Sister Ann Cecilia, who had been in charge of St. Mary's parish school since the death of Sister Chrysostom, was made the first superior of the institution, to which was given the name of the Academy of St. Aloysius, and its doors were opened to its little proteges in December, 1868. And from this time the new institution became the home of the sisters teaching in the parish school. For the preceding eleven years, since they had been placed in charge, in September, 1857, they had in all weather gone through the two miles journey from the convent to the school in the morning and returned in the evening every school day, and to the Sunday school on Sundays. And all the sisters who, during these years were compelled to make the journey, will tell with pleasure how Mrs. M. W. Rooney sent them, from her house on Broadway and Prospect street, every

day, a hot dinner for their noon recess. Sister Mary Pius succeeded Sister Ann Cecilia in the charge of St. Aloysius in April, 1871, and now remains in the twelfth year of her successful administration of the institution, and the head of a community of sixteen sisters, including those of the parish school. Besides Sister Mary Pius, the superior of the academy, St. Aloysius now includes Sister M. Paulinus, Sister M. Symphorosa, Sister Marie Stella and Sister M. Augustine, who teach the boys when in classes, and Sister M. Serene who imparts music. When out of class Sister M. Euphrosyne and Sister Marie Irene are their good angels, and if any are sick, Sister Amy in the infirmary cares for them, and if none are sick she aids Sister M. Leonora in the care of their wardrobes. Sister M. Hillary is the sisters' infirmarian, and in matters of health and sickness all must obey her, and if none are sick her duties only become the more numerous, and Sister M. Protase is the housekeeper.

The sisters of the parish school are Sister Maria Magdalena, Sister M. Germana, Sister Agnes Loyola, Sister M. Myra and Sister Frances Clare.

ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH

was set off from St. Mary's in 1871. The old church had again become crowded, and the distance from the north part of the village was considerable. Some of the people desired that a new parish might be set off in the neighborhood of Ashburton avenue, and put in charge of the Jesuits. The writer was one of a delegation who waited on Archbishop McCloskey in the spring of 1871, and made these requests. The archbishop approved of the new parish but preferred a secular priest, and in June, 1871, the Rev. Albert A. Lings, until then assistant at St. Mary's, was made pastor of the new parish of St. Joseph. Early in July he hired the assembly room of Public School No. 6 for the Saturday evening and Sunday services of the new church. The writer negotiated this rent at fifteen dollars a week—just five times the price which he had negotiated twenty-three years before for the use of Flagg's Hall, for the infant congregation of St. Mary's in 1848. But this difference was hardly greater than the relative strength

and circumstances of the congregations. In July Father Lings bought the lot now occupied by the church, 115 feet on the north side of Ashburton avenue, and 217 feet on the east side of Oak Hill avenue, for \$17,000, and in September laid the corner stone of a brick building, 25 x 82 feet, two stories, with basement and attic, placed on the north part of the Oak Hill avenue front, and designed ultimately for a school house, but temporarily fitted up for a church, with school rooms in the upper story. J. and G. Stewart did the mason work, John Sherwood the carpenter work, and including the furnishing of the church and of the school, the whole cost was about \$20,000. The first mass was said in the new building the 8th of December, 1871, although it was not finished until the following spring. The congregation proved so large that galleries were put up before the church was completed, and it now has eighty-four pews on the ground floor, seating four hundred and twenty persons, and thirty-six pews in the galleries, seating one hundred and eighty, making a total of six hundred seats.

Father Lings was liberally supported in his work by the contributions not only of his own people but also of his Protestant neighbors. The whole congregation contributed with equal liberality, according to their means, but space is wanting to set down their names. And among all these zealous contributors, Mr. Thomas Coyle gave the most time and energy and was the most useful.

ST. JOSEPH'S PARISH SCHOOL

St. Joseph's parish schools were opened in the class rooms over the church under lay teachers, in September, 1872, with about three hundred pupils. Father Lings made the public claim that since his schools gave to the children of the district all the secular education they could get in the public schools, and at much less expense, and since he thus saved the district the great cost of new class rooms and more teachers, the school board should pay at least the small cost of his schools. He claimed to do for less than ten dollars per year what cost the district more than twenty-five dollars. After a good deal of discussion the matter was

brought before the annual meeting of the district, held the 8th of October, 1878, under the resolution approving of hiring additional classrooms in St. Joseph's Church, at a nominal rent, whenever the board of education might think proper, and under such conditions as the board should approve. By a misunderstanding among some of the voters as to the question voted on, 33 votes in favor of the school were thrown away, and the votes stood: For the resolution, 197; for appropriating \$3,000 for St. Joseph's school, 17; for trustees, 16, total, 230. Against the resolution, 207.

The resolution was declared lost, but this result being unsatisfactory a special meeting of the district was called the following spring, to be held on the 10th of June, 1879, to vote on the question of establishing a branch school in St. Joseph's Church under the school board. Much feeling and discussion were excited and the meeting was largely attended. The vote stood: For the branch school, 337; against it, 430; blank, 1.

At this time the attendance in St. Joseph's parish school was 374. The school was discontinued at the end of June, 1879, but in September, 1881, it was reopened, under the charge of the Sisters of Charity, for whose use Father Lings had bought the adjoining house and lot, north of the school, and fitted it up at a cost of about \$7,000. The sisters have the boys' school as well as the girls' but in separate class rooms, and with separate yards and entrances. Sister M. Stephen, of the Academy of St. Aloysius, who for several years had charge of St. Joseph's Sunday school, was put in charge of the new house at St. Joseph's, where she now has six assistant sisters besides the lay assistance in the school. In the autumn of 1882 the school numbered 203 boys and 281 girls; total, 484. In January, 1883, the register was 530 and the average attendance for the months 458. Sister Stephen's assistants are Sister M. Aquila, Sister M. Esperanza, Sister Rose Lima, Sister M. Felice, Sister M. Teresita and Sister Maria Clotilda.

St. Joseph's has several societies and sodalities. The Children of Mary, the Sacred Heart Society, the Rosary Society, the Sodality of the Holy Angels, the Holy Infancy Sodality for boys

and another of girls, the St. Aloysius Society of boys, the Temperance Society, the Young Men's Catholic Association and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, but the last named is not confined to St. Joseph's parish. The basement of the church has been fitted up as a club room for a society of working boys, under the auspices of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and is open every evening. More extensive accommodations for this purpose are contemplated.

PAROCHIAL RESIDENCE

The old dwelling house on St. Joseph's property, at the time of the purchase, was made the parochial residence for some years, but was not suitable for the purpose and was too old to be worth repairs, and in 1877-8 a new residence of brick was erected, at a cost of about \$6,500, on the east side of the lot, fronting on Ashburton avenue, and leaving a site for the church hereafter to be built, on the corner of Ashburton and Oak Hill avenues. One of the last uses of the old house was on the winter evening just before the new house was ready for occupation, when Wendell Philips had lectured at Warburton Hall for the benefit of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and Father Lings entertained him at supper, with a few friends, including the writer, and on the 17th of March he moved into the new house.

The property of St. Joseph's Church was purchased in the name of the archbishop, but in accordance with his wish, the church was incorporated in 1876, under the general law, and all the property was vested in the corporation. The original trustees were Cardinal McCloskey, the Archbishop, the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Quinn, vicar general, the Rev. Albert A. Lings, pastor, Mr. Anthony Imhoff and Mr. Michael Welsh. In 1877 Mr. Imhoff resigned his place in the board and Mr. Thomas B. Caulfield was appointed in his stead. Otherwise the board is without change.

Father Lings estimates the number of the people belonging to St. Joseph's including the children, to be now (January, 1883) about four thousand, and that twenty-five hundred hear mass in his church every Sunday, for the mass is four times repeated, and

every time the church is crowded. The baptisms in 1882 were one hundred and twenty; the marriages, forty-one.

Both church and school are now so overcrowded that the new church, for which land is reserved on the corner of Ashburton and Oak Hill avenues, is very much needed, but the congregation does not yet feel itself able to undertake so great a work.

ST. JOSEPH'S CLERGY

The work of the parish has made necessary the services of an assistant priest for several years, and the Rev. Anthony Molloy has occupied the position since November, 1876, and was acting pastor with the Rev. Michael Montgomery as assistant, during the absence of Father Lings in 1881 in Europe, Egypt and Palestine. Before Father Molloy the Rev. Father Shadler, now pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Charleston, S. C., was assistant of Father Lings for about three years.

Father Lings was born in Baden in 1844, but was brought to this country by his parents when but two months old. He received a classical education, first at Latrobe College, Pa., and subsequently at St. Charles College, near Baltimore, where he graduated in 1863. He made his theological studies in the seminary at Troy, and was ordained by Bishop Bacon of Portland, on the 16th of June, 1867, and sent as assistant to St. Michael's Church, New York, where he remained but three months, when he was sent as assistant at St. Mary's, Yonkers, in September, 1867, and in June, 1871, as above stated, was put in charge of the new parish of St. Joseph's, of which he is now in the twelfth year of his pastorate. The Rev. Anthony Molloy, who is now in the seventh year of his service as assistant at St. Joseph's, was born near Tullamore, King's County, Ireland, on the 23rd of November, 1847, and was sent to a national school until the age of fourteen, when he went to St. Bridget's Seminary, Tullamore. He came to this country in 1866, and finished his classical studies at Manhattan College, under the Christian Brothers in New York, and then entered St. Joseph's Theological Seminary at Troy in 1868, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1872. He was assistant at St. Peter's, New Brighton, S. I., for one

year and at St. Columba's, New York, for three years, and had temporary charge of St. Teresa's, and also at Highland Falls and West Point, and at West Hurley, in Ulster county, N. Y., before he came to Yonkers in November, 1876.

THE REV. CHARLES RAYMOND CORLEY

pastor of St. Mary's since 1877, was born in New York on St. Raymond's Day, in 1848, made his classical studies in St. Xavier College, New York, and entered the Provincial Theological Seminary at Troy, and was ordained by Bishop McQuaid in 1871, and in June of that year was sent to St. Mary's, Rondout, where he was assistant for two years. In July, 1873, he was removed to St. Peter's, New York, as one of the assistants of Father Farrell, now bishop of Trenton, where he remained until the archbishop sent him to Yonkers, in June, 1877. Here he found Father O'Reilley established as assistant, as he still remains. The Rev. Edward Sweeny was also assistant for a short time, and later, in 1880-1, the Rev. Michael Montgomery was assistant during the temporary ill health of Father Corley. But Father O'Reilley and Father Corley have done almost all of the pastoral work of St. Mary's for the past five years and more.

THE REV. ANDREW O'REILLEY

assistant at St. Mary's since 1874, was born in Ireland in 1838, and came to this country when twelve years old, in 1850. He was educated in the college of St. Francis Xavier, New York, and graduated there in 1861. He afterwards entered the theological seminary of Our Lady of Angels, at Niagara Falls, where he was ordained by Bishop Timon of Buffalo, in December, 1863, and was sent in January, 1864, to Newburgh on the Hudson. At that time there were but four priests and four churches in Orange county, where Newburgh is situated. After two years at Newburgh, Father O'Reilley was sent in 1866 to Middletown in Orange county, where he was pastor for eight years, with Bullville and Otisville under his charge. He built two churches, one at Middletown and one at Bullville. Early in 1874 his health had so failed that he was unable to continue his work, and he felt

his recovery so doubtful that he took his mother, who was living with him, and went to his brother's in Chicago. The summer rest so far restored him that in October, 1874, he was again able to go to work, and was sent to Yonkers as assistant to Father Slevin.

THE PARISH SCHOOL

was one of Father Corley's first cares on coming to Yonkers, and he arranged to reopen the boys' department again under the Christian Brothers. Brother Elwaren was sent, in answer to his request with three assistants, and in September, 1877, the boys' school was again opened with about two hundred and fifteen children, and this number has increased every year since. Brother Alexis succeeded Brother Elwaren as director in September, 1881, and Brother Abel was put in charge in September, 1882, with Brother Alphanus John, Brother Aloysius and Brother Francis as assistants, and three hundred and thirteen boys in the classes. Mr. John F. Flood is also one of the assistant teachers.

Father Corley at his coming found Sister Martina in charge of the girls' department, with about three hundred children. In September, 1878, she was succeeded by Sister Maria Magdalena, who still remains in charge with several sisters as assistants. Miss Maggie M. Hynes is also one of the assistant teachers. And it ought to be said that Sister Maria Magdalena's administration of the school has been marked by great ability and success.

The attendance is much beyond the comfortable capacity of the school house, even including the small building which has been used for the infant school; and a new building has been under consideration for some years. Plans were prepared for an enlargement of the present school house, but it was found that the expense would be disproportionate to the gain, and it would still be unsatisfactory in not providing separate buildings for the boys and girls. Plans were subsequently prepared for a building for the girls' school, to be erected south and west of the church, on the adjoining property of the Academy of St. Aloysius, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, who consent to part with what land the church would need, and the situation would be very con-

venient for the sisters teaching in the parish school, as they make their home at St. Aloysius. This building would cost about twenty-five thousand dollars, and the plan is still under consideration. And for temporary relief, two new class rooms on the girls' side, have been made since the school opened in September last, in the basement of the school house, which is almost wholly out of ground, and a low subcellar being made under the class rooms. In one of these class rooms about sixty of the smallest boys, with their entrance only from the boys' grounds, have now, for the first time at St. Mary's, been placed under the Sisters' care, and the two schools now (January, 1883), number more than seven hundred pupils.

St. Mary's Church has several societies. (1) The Sodality of the Sacred Heart has about six hundred members. (2) The Confraternity of the living Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary has about three hundred and fifty members. (3) The Children of Mary are about one hundred and ten. There is also the Immaculate Conception Total Abstinence Society and a Young Men's Temperance Lyceum, which has a club room in the Radford building open every evening to members; and a Ladies' Temperance Society.

The sodalities of the parish school are: (1) St. Aloysius Society of boys. (2) Holy Angels of girls, and (3) Society of the Holy Infant, of those too young to have made their first communion.

The property of St. Mary's Church and schools was first purchased in the name of Archbishop Hughes, and on his death was held in the name of his successor, but at Cardinal McCloskey's wish, in September, 1877, the church was incorporated under the general law, and all the property was legally vested in the corporation.

HOW MANY CATHOLICS LIVED IN PRE-DIOCESAN BROOKLYN?

JOHN K. SHARP, PH.D.

THE number of Catholics living in Brooklyn and Long Island in 1853, when the Diocese of Brooklyn was erected, and in various earlier years forms matter for interesting speculation. The records are incomplete, the civil more so than the ecclesiastical, and unknown factors are involved. We cannot know the precise answer, but we can reach an approximation.¹

We may presume for the period, as others have, a conservative birth rate of 30 per thousand, implying that each birth and therefore each Catholic baptism represented 33.3 Catholics.² Extant baptismal records for 1853 total 4,375 in twelve Kings County parishes and in three Queens parishes.³ On this civil-birth-rate-Catholic-baptism basis we arrive for 1853 at a Catholic population in Kings of 145,686 and on all Long Island of 150,248.

¹J. H. Mitchell, *Golden Jubilee Celebration of Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, D.D.* (Brooklyn 1891) xxxii, estimated, 1891, that the total Catholic population of Long Island in 1853 was 15,000. Valentine Hickey, editor of the *Catholic Review*, estimated in 1888 that the 1853 population was 20,000 (*Catholic Review*, Feb. 25, Mar. 3, 17, 1888; *Irish World*, Jan. 2, 1892). F. J. Zwierlein in the *History of the State of New York* (New York 1935) vii, 57 states that "In 1850 . . . Every third person in Kings County spoke in German dialect or with Irish accent." But if one-third spoke with strange tongues in 1850, a greater proportion were Irish and German-born in 1853 when a third of the population numbered over 60,000, for immigration was increasing. Many of the Germans and most of the Irish were Catholic and many other Catholics spoke with neither brogue nor guttural.

²Bishop Fenwick of Boston used a similar process to determine his flock in the eighteen twenties (Lord, Harrington, Sexton, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York 1944) i, 716, ii, 125), as did C. G. Herbermann for New York City, 1800-40, in "The Rt. Rev. Bishop Dubois, D.D.," *Records and Studies USCHS* (1900) i, 350. Earliest birth rates available for Brooklyn, based on incomplete figures, are 31.24 for 1866 and 30 for 1874 (*Report, Board of Health, City of Brooklyn, 1873-75* (New York 1876) 11 ff). No New York City birth rates are available before 1854 and they are inaccurate because of unsatisfactory compliance with the birth registration law. In 1854, 17,979 births were reported in an estimated population of 603,394 (R. A. Sawyer, Chief, Economics Division, N. Y. Public Library to author, Nov. 8, 1946), indicating an 1854 birth rate of 33.5. The birth rate in Ireland in 1881 was 35.2 (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14 ed. 1937, XVIII, 237). U. S. general birth rate, 1916, was 25; in 1933, 16.5 (*World Almanac* (New York 1941) 517).

³There were resident pastors also but no baptismal records at Sag Harbor in 1852; Jamaica, 1848-54; Astoria 1843-56.

Such a conclusion is obviously erroneous for in 1853 the civil population of all Long Island was about 260,000 and that of Kings County, at its western end, about 180,954.⁴ A birth rate of 30 per thousand seemingly cannot apply to an abnormal population composed largely of young marrying immigrants. Age groups, older and younger than theirs, save for infants, were relatively unrepresented. The baptism of a child of each immigrant couple generally represented not 33.3 people but only three—the child and its parents.

The civil-death-rate-Catholic-interment figures offer another basis, seemingly more accurate but also subject to unknown factors. During 1853 there were at least 1,838 Catholic burials, all but fifteen of them of residents of Kings County.⁵ The civil death rate is unknown but if it were 26 per thousand—the civil rate in Brooklyn in 1851⁶—it would yield for the year 1853 Catholic populations in Kings County of 70,115 and on all Long Island of 70,692. If the New York City death rate of 38 in

⁴Estimated from Federal Census 1850-1860 and H. R. Stiles, *History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn 1869) ii, 419.

⁵These and subsequent numbers of known burials of Catholic Brooklynites and Long Islanders were derived by the author from the following burial records: St. James Cemetery, Brooklyn, 1829 to 1849; Holy Cross Cemetery, Brooklyn, 1849 to 1853; the records in Calvary Cemetery Office, New York City, of burials in the 50th Street, 11th Street and Calvary Cemeteries; and from references to the Canton Street [St. Edward St.] Cemetery, Brooklyn with its 2,500 Catholic burials between 1825 and 1855 (in Stiles, i, 380; ii, 223; iii, 634; *Brooklyn Star*, July 30, Sept. 21, 1835; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Jan. 25, 26, 29, 1844; *Catholic Review*, May 5, 1894 and *Field Map Plan B*, 1849, in Brooklyn Borough Hall).

Year	Deaths	Civil Population	Death Rate
1850	2,055	105,000	19.6
1851	2,858	110,000	26
1852	3,184	125,000	25.5

Above death rates were computed by author from published death and population figures. Deaths, 1850-52, and populations, 1851-52, are from *Annual Report of the Health Officer of Deaths in the City of Brooklyn* . . . (Brooklyn 1852, p. 40, 1853 p. 4).

Population for 1850 was computed by author as follows: On Jan. 3, 1853, the old Brooklyn population was "some 120,000" (Stiles, ii, 295). Present Kings County had 138,882 in 1850 (Federal Census). Williamsburgh had 30,786 (Stiles, ii, 400). The rest of Kings probably had about 8,000, leaving 100,000 in old Brooklyn. Old Brooklyn had 100,000 in 1849 (Stiles, ii, 285). The average old Brooklyn death rate, 1850-52, was 23.7.

Earliest death records, Dept. of Health, Borough of Brooklyn, is a name index, 1854-56. (John Kearney, Chief Clerk, to author, 1940). New York State death rate, 1938, was 11.4 (*World Almanac* (1941) 521).

1853⁷ also governed Kings County and Long Island the Catholic populations would have been respectively 47,973 and 48,368.

Another uncertain factor in this method of calculation comes from the fact that the Catholic death rate was higher than the civil death rate. While the year 1853 was not a cholera year, to which the Irish were more susceptible than others,⁸ the toll of sickness and accidents was generally higher among the Irish immigrants than among others.⁹

Perhaps we may accept for Brooklyn and Long Island Catholics the New York civil death rate of 38 for the year 1853, which is nearly 50 per cent greater than the Brooklyn civil rate of 1851. We may then conservatively conclude that Long Island by the end of 1853 had a Catholic population of at least 48,000.¹⁰

⁷New York kept no death rates then and, before Jan. 1, 1848, no burial figures (T. J. Duffield, Director Dept. Health, N. Y. C., to author Nov. 8, 1944). In 1853 the New York City death rate was about 38; in 1849, about 48; in 1832, about 28. (Louis J. Dublin, Vice-Pres. and Statistician, Metropolitan Life Ins. Co. to author, Aug. 30, Sept. 8, 1944).

⁸The following, from *Valentine's Manuals*, 1847-50, show the number and nativity of interments and causes of death in New York City and County. Percentages reckoned by author:

Year	Interments	Catholic Cemeteries	% of Whole	Irish, German Nativity	% of Whole
1846	11,318	3,990	35.2	2,127	18.7
1847	15,788	5,646	35.7	4,482	28.3
1848	15,919	3,292	20.6	3,643	22.9
1849	23,793	7,552	31.7	7,334	30.8

In 1849, a bad cholera year, natal places of 23,793 deceased were: U. S., 15,178; Ireland, 5,769; Germany, 1,565; Prussia, 18; England, 578; Scotland, 239; France, 96; etc. Cholera and consumption comprised 30.5% of all causes. Interments were: Catholic, 7,552; Potters Field, 5,602; Methodist, 2,017; Presbyterian, 1,365; Lutheran, 631; Episcopalian, 519; etc.; removed from city, 4,760. (*Val. Man.* 1849 (N. Y. 1850) 328 f).

In 1849 there were 3,052 deaths in old Brooklyn. Of 642 cholera deaths May 29 to Sept. 22, native born were 75; chiefly Irish and German, 420; etc. Nativity of 130 cholera deaths in Brooklyn Hospital was U. S., 15; Ireland, 100; Germany, 10; etc. (*Annual Report of the Health Officer of Deaths in the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn 1852) 40; Joseph C. Hutchinson, M.D., *History and Observations on Asiatic Cholera in Brooklyn in 1854* (Brooklyn 1855) 105). In 1849 Brooklyn lost 1 of every 155 persons; New York City, 1 of every 86 (Stiles, ii, 285).

⁹A factor augmented slightly by unknown Catholic burials in Greenwood, parish cemeteries, etc.

¹⁰The Catholic population of the Diocese of Brooklyn in 1945 was 4.4% of the total Catholic population in the United States (*Catholic Directory* 1946). The United States Catholic population, 1853, was about 2,055,100 (estimate based on Joseph McSorley, *An Outline History of the Church*

CATHOLIC POPULATION SUMMARY

	Number of Baptisms	Catholic Baptism— Civil Birth Rate— Population based on birth rate of 30 per 1,000	Civil Population	Number Catholic Interments	Catholic Burial— Civil Death Rate— Population based on Catholic interments and civil death rate
—1853—					
Old Brooklyn (first 9 wards)	2,930	97,569	138,000 ⁴	1,617	{62,192 ¹¹ 42,552 ¹² }
Flatbush	66	2,197			
Williamsburgh	1,445	45,920			
Total, Kings County	4,375	145,686	180,954 ⁴	1,823	{70,115 ¹¹ 47,973 ¹² }
Outside Kings County	137	4,562			
Total, Long Island	4,512	150,248	260,000 ⁴	1,838	{70,692 ¹¹ 48,368 ¹² }
—1849—					
Old Brooklyn	1,622	54,012	{100,000 ¹³ 90,000 ¹⁴ }	895	{29,325 ¹⁵ 18,645 ¹⁶ }
Kings County	2,142	71,328	129,756 ¹⁷	960	{31,455 ¹⁵ 20,000 ¹⁶ }
Long Island	2,203	73,359	202,395 ¹⁷	965	{31,618 ¹⁵ 20,104 ¹⁶ }
—1847—					
Old Brooklyn	1,154	38,428	80,000 ¹⁸	558	23,644 ¹⁸
Kings County	1,497	49,849	111,502 ¹⁷	567	24,025 ¹⁸
Long Island	1,497	49,849	181,953 ¹⁷	572	24,237 ¹⁸
—1844—					
Old Brooklyn	775	25,806 ¹⁹	63,739 ^{17, 24}	388	16,440 ¹⁸
Kings County	907	30,201 ²⁰	84,117 ¹⁷	397	16,822 ¹⁸
Long Island	907	30,201	151,290 ¹⁷	421	17,839 ¹⁸
—1842—					
Old Brooklyn	427	14,218 ²¹	40,000 ²²	472	20,000 ¹⁸
Kings County	537	17,881 ²³	65,867 ¹⁷	477	20,211 ¹⁸
Long Island	537	17,881	130,848 ¹⁷	512	21,609 ¹⁸
—1832—					
Old Brooklyn	186	6,193	17,088 ²⁴	214	7,621 ⁷
Kings County	186	6,193	25,873 ²⁴	214	7,621 ⁷
Long Island	186	6,193	77,676 ²⁴	215	7,678 ⁷
—1830—					
Old Brooklyn Village (first five wards)	120	3,996	12,302 ²⁵	136	5,762 ¹⁸
Kings County	120	3,996	20,438 ²⁶	136	5,762 ¹⁸
Long Island	120	3,996	69,494 ²⁶	140	5,932 ¹⁸

The methods illustrated above were used in working out the following summary of the Catholic populations in Brooklyn and Long Island in certain of the pre-diocesan years.

(St. Louis 1943) 850). A Long Island Catholic population of 48,000 in 1853 would be only 2.33% of the then U. S. Catholic population; of 90,424 would be the 4.4% prevailing today.

¹¹Old Brooklyn death rate of 26 in 1851, f.n. 6.

¹²New York City death rate of 38 (f.n. 7) which agrees with calculations based on Fed. Census and *Val. Man.* 1854.

¹³Stiles, ii, 285.

¹⁴Hutchinson, 105.

¹⁵A cholera year. Old Brooklyn death rate of 30.52 calculated from 3,052 deaths. (*Annual Report . . . Health Officer . . .* (1852) 40) in population of 100,000 (Stiles, ii, 285).

¹⁶New York City death rate of 48 (f.n. 7) which agrees with calculations based on Fed. Census and *Val. Man.* 1850.

¹⁷Estimate from Fed. Census 1840-50.

¹⁸The population of old Brooklyn, 1847, was 80,000 of whom 1,900 died (*Brooklyn City Directory*, 1848-49) yielding a death rate of 23.6. Same rate taken for 1844, 1842, 1830. This seems low but the Hutchinson average for 1850-52 is 23.7 (f.n. 6).

¹⁹7,700 Catholics (N. S. Prime, *History of Long Island* (New York 1845) 411, 418).

²⁰8,700 Catholics (Prime).

²¹12,000 Catholics (Joseph Salzbacher, *Meine Reise Nach Nord Amerika, Jahre 1842* [Thomas Cleary transl.]).

²²*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 21, 1842. Salzbacher said 36,000.

²³13,700 (Salzbacher).

²⁴Estimate based on Village growth from 12,302 in 1830 to City of Brooklyn of 36,233 in 1840 and of 105,000 in 1850. Cholera was prevalent, 1832 (Stiles, ii, 237).

²⁵Alden Spooner, *Brooklyn Directory*, 1832-33.

²⁶Federal Census.

BROOKLYN'S FIRST PREPARATORY SEMINARY

JOHN K. SHARP, PH.D.

LIKE other pioneer American bishops, John Loughlin, first Bishop (1853 to 1891) of Brooklyn, was much concerned with the problem of securing priests for his growing flock. The need was acute in his early years, particularly for German speaking priests whose nationals were then entering the young diocese in increasing numbers. Of the efforts made to meet the situation the story of our first preparatory seminary has more than ordinary interest. The bare fact of that story has been preserved, but until now few details and no primary evidence have been recorded.

The school was located in the building which came to be known as the Church of St. Francis in the Fields. Father Johann Stephen Raffener, V.G., patriarch of the Germans in our northeast and pastor of Holy Trinity parish in Williamsburgh from 1841 to his death in 1861, erected it in 1850. It was located in Bedford at about the center of Kings County, two miles south of his church. More precisely, the new church lay on the south side of present Putnam Avenue about 200 feet east of Bedford Avenue.

A photograph shows it was a quaint looking stone and wood structure, one story and basement, with a small fleche rising from its peaked roof. On the ground floor were quarters for a priest. The church upstairs was reached by an outside stairway and the rear of this chapel was used for the seminary class room.¹

The church was a mission station of Holy Trinity until about 1852 when it received a resident pastor in the person of Father Maurus Ramsauer, O.S.B. From this location he served the more

¹*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 7, 1914. Whether the "seminary" was an afterthought or a later addition or both, is not known. The building was first called the German Church of the Holy Trinity. Some early Catholic Directories place it on Flushing Avenue and on Monroe Street. Keller, *infra*, locates it on Putnam Avenue. The phrase "in the Fields" was added later. For views of the old church see *Diamond Jubilee, of the R.C. Church of the Most Holy Trinity* (Brooklyn 1916) 50; Meehan article cited f.n. 5 below; and *Official Souvenir*, f.n. 10 below.

recent German Catholic immigrant arrivals who were moving out along the Fulton Street line, east toward Queens County. He established St. Benedict's parish on Ralph Avenue in 1852 and in 1854 he left St. Francis to become the first resident pastor of St. Boniface, another German church lately purchased from Episcopalians in downtown Brooklyn.

Father Bonaventura Keller, O.S.F., succeeded him at St. Francis. He was an Austrian missionary who had labored in Texas. From Brooklyn he appealed to the Ludwig Missionsverein advising that Bavarian foreign mission society that Bishop Loughlin had repeatedly asked him to seek help for the Bavarian Catholics, who were without German speaking priests, and for their churches, in danger of sale for debt.

On November 30, 1855, he wrote two letters, addressing one to the Archbishop of Munich stating that although Bishop Loughlin had a church debt of \$140,000 he needed more churches. He concluded: "If he cannot meet the interest, his churches will be sold; it is terrible to be a bishop in America."

Again Keller wrote the society on March 12, 1856, substantially as before. He remarked that in the past two years he had witnessed the erection of five German churches for people who were as sheep without a shepherd, but because of debt their success was doubtful.²

These pleas of Keller for help, as well as those he sent subsequently, went unheeded, although Father Raffener countersigned all his letters and Bishop Loughlin the first.³ In fact the three foreign mission aid societies—the Bavarian, Austrian and French—sent very little help to Bishop Loughlin. All told he received from them about \$4,040 between the years 1857 and 1867. Most of the American grants went to religious and to French and German

²Probably: St. Benedict, 1852; St. Boniface and B.V.M. Help of Christians, Winfield, 1854; St. Ignatius Loyola, Hicksville, 1855; St. Fidelis, College Point, 1856.

³In 1939 Willibald Matheser, O.S.B., kindly furnished the author with transcripts of these and the following documents cited from the Archives of the LMV, Munich. Very Rev. Mother Anselma, O.S.D., Brooklyn, kindly translated them. Fr. Matheser alleges Keller was refused aid because he had left Texas against Bishop Odin's wishes and had not specified exactly enough the objects of his requests.

bishops. But the small gifts were very welcome in those hard times and they occasioned interesting comments on the state of the diocese.⁴

Then Keller was entrusted with the establishment of the preparatory seminary. It is said to have "started with some twenty pupils, seven of whom were boarders"⁵ and it was for candidates of the order of Bavarian Conventuals.⁶ The three following documents now published, so far as is known for the first time in English, enrich our meagre knowledge of the project.⁷

I

[Archives of Ludwigs Mission Society, Act. Brooklyn 2/6
P. Bonaventura Keller to Archbishop Scherr]

Your Excellency, Lord Archbishop
Most Honorable Sir:

As God has called you to be Archbishop over so large a Diocese

⁴Fr. Joseph Huber, Nov. 11, 1858, asked the LMV for \$12,000 for church and school furnishings for three parishes that lack of German priests required him to care for. He was sent 600 gulden or \$240 on December 23, 1858. Loughlin wrote the LMV Aug. 25, 1859, stating each of his 25 churches were in debt and he needed funds for his orphans and seminarians. "Almost every church has a school which is very necessary, for the children are weaned away from their religion in the public schools." In June 1860 he was sent 1,000 gulden. *Annals*, LMV, xxvii (1859) 458; xxviii (1860) 532; LMV to Loughlin, Nov. 15, 1860 (Chancery, Diocese of Brooklyn); Willibald Matheser, *Der Ludwig Missionsverein* (Munich 1939) passim 285 to 333; Theodore Roemer, *The Ludwig Missionsverein* . . . (New York 1933) 80 f.

Loughlin wrote the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1857 citing his orphanage, new schools and the zeal of his religious. He was sent 8,000 francs in 1857; 6,000 in 1859; and 3,000 in 1867. Soc. P. F. to L., Mar. 19, June 30, 1857, Oct. 21, 1859, Oct. 21, 1867, May 14, 1868 (New York Archdiocesan Archives, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, A-14); *Annals*, xxv (1857) 597; xxviii (1860) 521.

Fr. Huber wrote the Leopold mission aid society of Vienna, Sept. 11, 1864, citing the lack of a seminary and the need, because of Civil War depreciation of American paper money, to pay for European students in gold. He noted the many kindnesses received from Vienna. *Annals*, xxxix (1864) 39. Roemer's study, "The Leopoldine Foundation . . ." USCHS Monograph xiii (1933) terminates, 1839. No receipts have been discovered.

⁵Thomas F. Meehan, "Very Rev. Johann Stephen Raffener, V.G.," *USCHS Records and Studies*, ix (1916) 172.

⁶Roemer, *The Ludwig Missionsverein* (1933) 80. If its purpose remained so limited, it would not have been a diocesan preparatory seminary.

⁷The author is indebted to Fr. Matheser for transcribing them from the LMV Archives, Munich, and to Very Rev. Mother M. Anselma, O.S.D., for her translation.

and you know the need of priests in smaller places, I do not think that my petition to you will be in vain.

Everyone must concede that without religion society would soon decay and that only zealous priests will save it. But to train such, Monasteries and Seminaries are necessary. Here in America such institutes are doubly necessary to educate men who will be able to cope with the thorns and thistles rampant here in the vineyard of the Lord.

I knew of this need even before I left my Bavarian fatherland; and as I imagined the place, so I found it. But I found great obstacles in the way of my good intentions. However, patience and perseverance surmounted these.

December 8 of last year on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, I opened a seminary on the advice of Vicar General Raffener and with the approval of the Bishop. This seminary was to be in particular for the training of German boys as you may see from my *Program*.

To continue this work I must have help, and experience has taught me that such an undertaking is fraught with many difficulties. The Right Reverend Abbot Boniface Wimmer can tell you what worry such foundations may be. Where should I turn in my necessity? Vicar General Raffener gave us the house and the grounds worth about 8,000 florins; therefore, I can't ask him for any more. Our Most Rev. Bishop has a new diocese founded only four years ago and has many expenses. It would be unjust for me to add to his worries of building and maintaining churches and orphanages by asking him to help here.

If I don't receive help I must send back to the world many young men because I have no room for them unless I can build. I know of no other way to get funds than to appeal to you as President of the Ludwig Mission Society. Without this help I shall not be able to continue my work as you may see from my financial report.

I have not received a penny for this foundation from any source except from the income of two poor parishes which I began myself. One is so poor that the church was built from a loan and nearly had to be sold again to the Protestants because it could not raise the interest. My whole income is \$500.00 a year, \$200.00 of which I must pay my two assistants and a secular teacher until the four candidates have finished their course in Rome and return here as *Patres*. Most of our students are poor; therefore, I can't appeal to their parents.

Not only is the small sum of \$5.00 a month insufficient to feed and keep a student, but I must keep gratis many a boy because

of his poverty lest I lose a good worker in the vineyard of the Lord.

From this candid report, the truth of which I attest with my word of honor as a priest, your Excellency may see that help is really necessary.

I am confident that if your Excellency will submit my appeal to the Ludwig Mission Verein, they will gladly help me.

Repeating my humble petition etc.

FR. BONAVENTURA KELLER

Seminary Superior

Bedford, Brooklyn

April 1, 1857

Letter to His Excellency Gregorius,
Archbishop of Munich-Freising

II

[Prospectus inclosed in P. Bonaventura's letter to the
Archbishop]

St. Bonaventura Seminary at the Church

of St. Francis-Seraphians,

Bedford section of Brooklyn, L. I., N. Y.

This recently erected institution has for its aim to be a *seminary* for young German Catholic boys who wish to become priests.

In case a boy should change his mind after attending a few years he will have had the advantage of a good Christian classical education which will be a distinct advantage for him.

So that all children of American citizens of German extraction may benefit by a scientific religious education, especially those in the province of New York and New Jersey, the annual fee for instruction, board and lodging is only \$60.00 to be paid quarterly in advance. The cost of bedding, laundry, books and medical attention will be extra, as also music and drawing. Only the fact that the Professors belong to the Order makes it possible to charge so low a price.

The Course of Study is similar to that of the German Gymnasium or High School, namely: Religion, Church History, Latin, German, English and French Languages, Mathematics—higher and lower, History, Geography, Nature Study, Physics, Penmanship and Vocal Music.

The ages of pupil range from 10-15 years.

As this is certainly a beneficial enterprise sanctioned by the Diocesan authorities, it is to be hoped that the clergy will be

interested enough to announce it to the people and endeavor to send pupils to this institute.

Further information may be procured from:

FR. BONAVENTURA KELLER
Catholic Pastor of the St. Francis Church,
 Putnam Avenue,
 Brooklyn, L. I., N. Y.

Jan. 1, 1857

III

Printed Pro-memoris re: the Seminary of St. Bonaventure for boys—in Brooklyn, Bedford, L. I., N. Y., founded January 1, 1857, by the Rev. Bonaventura Keller. Würzburg, 1858.

According to the estimation of the writer the works of the greatest moment at present in Mission activities is to prepare worthy candidates for the missions; and the material needs of the missions must take second place in the society's view.

The Ludwig Mission Society of Bavaria has been of inestimable help to the Missions in North America on this point and if our German brethren enjoy having worthy pastors of souls they owe it in a great measure to this most worthy Society.

But the president of the Society must know that the Church here is far from being able to supply its needs. Not that the people are not willing to sacrifice or that the zeal of the Clergy is diminished, but that the development here in the vast territory of North America has been too great for the few workers in the vineyard. Very likely there are those in the fatherland who think it about time that the Missions here became self-supporting. In some measure that is the case especially of the Churches pertaining to the Irish people. For our German parishes, however, there is still a great lack of pastors of souls.

Any one conversant with the industrial conditions of America will admit that, although the Germans are the most industrious inhabitants and also the most frugal living still, according to the standard of their fatherland, nevertheless their wages and the competition cannot compare favorably with the American system of business. The English speaking people have the advantage in acquiring this world's goods. Therefore, the Colleges in the hands of English speaking Catholics cannot be attended by our German youth on account of the high school fee. As a result only a few of our boys can follow the vocation to the priesthood and so the German parishes lack an adequate number of priests. Therefore, it would be well to begin an institution to educate the German

immigrants' sons poor and rich alike. Such a school would merit the help of all Christian philanthropists and friends of Religion.

I am speaking of the St. Bonaventure Seminary of Brooklyn, N. Y., founded January 1, 1857, by the Rev. Bonaventura Keller of the Conventual Friars Minor of the Bavarian Province.

This seminary intends to receive boys of 12-15 yrs. of age and educate them according to the precepts of the Council of Trent, giving them the necessary preliminary education before they enter the major seminary. To make this institution accessible to the poor, it will give board, lodging and instruction for the annual sum of only \$60.00. A sum which is very small indeed compared to the \$160.00-200.00 asked in other like educational institutions of the Jesuits, Christian Brothers, etc.

Of course \$60.00 would not cover the cost of running the institution with three professors each of whom is to receive \$20.00 monthly. But our Missionary, with confidence in God and Seraph Father St. Francis, hopes for aid in his work from the three parishes he has begun in conjunction with the Count of Perigny, a former Abbot of an Irish Monastery and the Reverend Aloysius Endres, a secular priest from the Diocese of Munich-Freysing.

I need not here advert to the advantages accruing from this German foundation to our holy Religion in general, and in particular to the conserving of the religion of our German Element and the development of ideas and principles which will have a wide influence.

The writer has experienced all that he notes here, having lived with Fr. Bonaventura for 15 months. From 12 pupils the register of the seminary has rapidly grown to 40 and he must refuse applicants for lack of room.

Let us hope that German hearts which beat so warmly for all that is good and noble will be inclined to help Fr. Bonaventura so that the seminary's name *Buona ventura*, will become true for our German brethren beyond the sea.

Most respectfully,

FRIEDRICH AUGUST FRANZ O'BYRNE,
Theol. Cand.

* * *

The three documents raise a number of unsolved questions. Professors, assistants, the Count of Perigny, the Irish ex-abbot and the secular teacher are not identified. Father Aloysius Endres is the only other priest known to have been stationed then at

St. Francis.⁸ O'Byrne may have been a fifth candidate or student arrived lately at Würzburg from Brooklyn.

The seminary, the first of its kind in New York State, lasted less than two years for it closed probably by the middle of 1858.⁹ Distance and lack of teachers have been the alleged causes and, we may add, lack of money. Father John J. Raber is the only pupil whose name is known to us. Born, 1845, he entered the North American College, Rome, in October 1866 and was ordained in March 1871. He died as founder-pastor of St. Leonard of Port Maurice in 1888.

With the closing of the seminary St. Francis reverted to its mission status and was attended from Holy Trinity until the death of Father Raffener in 1861. The church was then closed. In 1866 Father Nicholas Balleis, O.S.B., went there as its pastor and remained until 1888. Then he retired to his confreres in Newark, N. J., where he died in 1891 after a priesthood of over sixty years. When he left the church was closed again.

The Sister Adorers of the Most Precious Blood then bought the place from Holy Trinity Orphan Asylum Society. The community, which included a grand niece of Bishop Loughlin and her widowed mother, had arrived in Brooklyn, December 4, 1889, and made their residence at 289 Sumpter Street near Hopkinson Avenue. They moved into the Putnam Avenue premises on April 30, 1892, and there they continued to give retreats for women and to introduce the ideas of prayer and penance to wondering non-Catholic neighbors. They razed the old building after

⁸*Brooklyn Directory*, 1856, 1857. The *Catholic Directory*, 1858, 1859, locates no one there. Ordained Phila., May 1856, Endres helped in Brooklyn until 1858 or 1859 when he went west. Fr. Joseph Brunemann, the second Franciscan to come to the diocese, arrived 1854, labored at Winfield until 1857, went to St. Boniface for a year, was resident at Sag Harbor, 1859 to 1868, and died at Far Rockaway, 1874. Biographical data of clergy based on author's *Priests and Parishes of the Diocese of Brooklyn, 1820-1944* (New York 1944).

⁹Neither Loughlin nor Huber in any of their foreign mission appeals (notably Huber's of Nov. 11, 1859) mention the seminary. Keller's name no longer appeared in the *Brooklyn Directory* nor in the Brooklyn Diocese in the *Catholic Directory* after 1858. He rejoined his community and died in Wisconsin in 1877.

erecting a three-story brick monastery. It was blessed June 24, 1894.¹⁰

The new convent soon proved too small and hostile neighbors disturbed its privacy. Accordingly, the sisters sold the building and in 1910 moved to their present quarters on Fort Hamilton Parkway.¹¹

The Putnam Avenue convent was in turn torn down and an apartment house erected. It has deteriorated along with the neighborhood as the years have gone. No one who today passes the premises of 210 to 216 Putnam Avenue could possibly be reminded by them of the former glories that dwelt there, first as St. Francis in the Fields and then as the Monastery of the Most Precious Blood.

On December 8, 1914, ground was broken for Brooklyn's second preparatory seminary, the Cathedral College of the Immaculate Conception. It was opened in September, 1915. It stands at Washington and Atlantic Avenues, a scant half mile distant from its predecessor and it carries on the old tradition revived by the Council of Trent which St. Francis in the Fields bravely struggled to realize.

¹⁰*Catholic Review*, Nov. 19, Dec. 3, 1892; *Official Souvenir, Monastery of the Most Precious Blood*, May 1894; N. Y. Herald, Sept. 13, 1894.

¹¹*Catholic News*, June 9, 1909; *Brooklyn Tablet*, Sept. 5, 1908; Mar. 13, June 12, 1909; Nov. 5, 1910.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ANNUAL MEETING

The 1946 General Meeting of the Society, held on October 21 in the Hotel Commodore, New York City, was a reception to His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, our Honorary President. President Remy presided and, after an address of welcome to the audience of seven hundred members and their friends, gave to the Cardinal a beautiful triptych and a check for the projected Archbishop Corrigan Memorial Library at Dunwoodie Seminary, as a token of the Society's extreme pleasure on the occasion of His Eminence's reception of the cardinalitial dignity. He then introduced the speaker of the evening, Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon, whose address "Our American Cardinals" is printed at the beginning of this volume of Records. His Eminence responded to both addresses, with recollections of the part the Society has played since the time of Archbishop Corrigan in gathering the history of the Archdiocese.

MONOGRAPH XXII

William A. Fitzgerald, writing in the *Historical Bulletin* of St. Louis University, says of Monograph XXII, "The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States" by Fergus Macdonald, C.P.: "Another gap in American church history is covered by this well documented thesis which the United States Catholic Historical Society, pursuing its usual interest in the field, has underwritten. Another aspect of the social-religious problems of the nineteenth century has been covered, and again, to furnish much of the material for the work, a great use is made of the well-organized diocesan archives." Other reviewers have been equally favorable to the book, and the first printing has been exhausted. The Society has, therefore, undertaken a second printing, to meet the many unfilled orders from individuals and bookstores. It will also be of interest to the members to know that Monograph XXIII is now being printed and it will be published in December. "Old St. Patrick's, New York's First Cathedral" by Mother Mary Peter Carthy, O.S.U., draws on

original material to illustrate much of the history of Catholic New York, down to 1879.

MEEHAN LECTURES

Under the sponsorship of the Publications Committee, the Society has inaugurated the annual Meehan Lectures, in memory of the late Thomas F. Meehan, President and Editor of the Society's publications for many years. The first lectures were held in the Midston House, New York, on March 2, 9 and 16, 1947, and they are printed in this volume under the title "Growing Pains in the American Church". The lecturer, Dr. John J. Meng, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Queens College, has distinguished himself for years in the field of American Church History, and he is a past president of the American Catholic Historical Association. The purpose of the Meehan Lectures is to produce more and more Catholic laymen, interested in the history of the Church in America. They will be held annually in the Lenten season.

BARCLAY STREET INSTITUTE

New York's oldest Church, St. Peter's, has become the center of a great variety of study courses, among which is the Barclay Street Historical Institute. Four lectures on New York Catholic history, entitled "Catholic Footsteps in Old New York", were given by Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon, Editor of Publications, and by the Rev. Patrick W. O'Flaherty, of Cardinal Hayes High School. It is the intention of Monsignor Edward Roberts Moore, the pastor of Old St. Peter's, to continue these historical lectures on New York's Catholic past. The lectures begin in the Fall and continue into the Spring.

ACHA CONVENTION

The annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held on December 27, 28, 29, in Cleveland, Ohio. The luncheon conference of December 27 marks a departure in the general plan of lectures of the Association, as its title indicates: "A New Field for American Catholic Historians: The

Eastern Catholics". The Rev. Desmond Schmal, S.J., of Mundelein Seminary, Chicago, will preside, and there will be two lectures, "The Byzantine-Slavonic Catholics of America" by Rev. Stephen C. Gulovich, S.T.D., Chancellor of the Pittsburgh Greek Rite Diocese, and "Rites and Rights: Eastern Catholic Minorities in the United States" by Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D., National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. Dr. Gulovich, who is also head of the department of Philosophy at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, is the author of the recently published "Windows Westward: Rome, Russia and Reunion", which is an important contribution to the history of the Church in the United States, in that it chronicles the story of those Eastern Catholics whose great Byzantine-Slavonic Rite is also the heritage of Russia.

LOYOLA'S NEW PRESIDENT

The appointment of the Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S.J., as the President of Loyola College, Baltimore, will be of interest to the members of the Society, because Father Talbot has been a trustee for a number of years. When he was the Editor of *America*, the Jesuit weekly, and resided in New York, this truly worthy scholar was never absent from a meeting of the Executive Council and he was a frequent contributor to our publications. More recently, his researches have taken him from New York, but they have also been a real contribution to the field to which the Society is dedicated. We wish Father Talbot many more fruitful years in the service of the Church.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

It is comforting to note how the care and availability of diocesan archives increase apace. In this volume there appear two short studies by the Rev. John K. Sharp, Ph.D., historiographer of the diocese of Brooklyn, who is now preparing the complete history of that diocese. Dr. Sharp has devoted himself for more than ten years to the many documents in the possession of the Brooklyn Archives, and his work will be an exhaustive study. If the value of the various diocesan archives is increasing, the

same cannot be said with regard to parish histories. Jubilees come and jubilees go, but rare indeed is the complete parish history. If the parish priests, preparing for a parochial jubilee, could devote some of their time to a relatively thorough study of their church's past, their efforts would further supplement the value of diocesan archives, where their parish history should be deposited. We had the personal experience of trying to gather some notes on the golden jubilee of a parish recently, and it was consoling to read a "log book", kept by a pastor of long, long ago. He even noted in it the weather each Sunday! It might be a solution for this problem of parish histories to have the youngest curate delegated for the composition of a similar "log book". We should not make the mistakes of the past. For all our knowledge of medieval history, how much more complete that would be if we knew the life of the ordinary parish of those days.

THE EDITOR

NECROLOGY

JOSEPH H. McGUIRE

In the passing of the octogenarian Joseph H. McGuire, former New York architect, the Society loses one of its most valued and oldest trustees. For over forty years, Mr. McGuire was rarely absent from a meeting of the Executive Council or from the Annual Meeting. He attended his last meeting of the Council just prior to his death last Spring.

At that meeting Mr. McGuire gave a brief talk, which revealed his spirit of dedication to his work as a trustee. His words were an inspiration to the younger men on the Council, and, indeed, a consolation, for their aged colleague remarked that the Society was still carrying on in the tradition of its founders.

We trust that the Master has welcomed His ever humble and zealous servant, and we pray God to raise up more and more laymen like him. May the soul of Joseph H. McGuire rest in the peace of the just.

THE RIGHT REV. MSGR. PETER GUILDAY

When the mortal remains of Monsignor Peter Guilday were carried from the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception at the Catholic University, on August 4, 1947, it was an occasion of mourning for American historians. No Catholic scholar had done more in the production of American Catholic history, both personally and through his influence on other scholars. Monsignor Guilday's training at Louvain, and in European and American archives, fitted him for preeminence in research. His own native ability as a writer and lecturer made possible such indispensable volumes as the *Life and Times of John Carroll* and the *Life and Times of John England*. Only prolonged ill health prevented him from completing his projected *Life and Times of John Hughes*, for which he had spent many years of research both here and abroad. For years he stood without peer in the field of American Catholic historical scholarship.

Through his far famed American Church History Seminars at the Catholic University, through the *Catholic Historical Review*,

through the American Catholic Historical Association, of which he was founder, Executive Secretary, and in his declining years Honorary President, Monsignor Guilday's influence on students and professors of History has been immeasurable. It was the ever increasing burden of work that bore him all too quickly to his death. One has only to glance over the list of Catholic University dissertations, inspired and sponsored by him, or to know even a small part of the gigantic correspondence he maintained with scholars and inquirers all over the world.

Monsignor Guilday was a member of our own Society since he began his professorship at Washington, and many of our volumes carry his contributions. He was the author of the ninth volume in our Monograph Series, *The Catholic Church in Virginia* (1815-1822), and a speaker at our Annual Meetings. When he was planning the American Catholic Historical Association, he came to New York to discuss its aims with the members of our Executive Council, and one of his dearest friends over the years was Thomas F. Meehan, our late President and Editor of Publications.

Only a month before he died, the Monsignor wrote to the present Editor, to submit for possible publication in the Monograph Series the work of one of his students. Thus he manifested his lifelong interest in the United States Catholic Historical Society, whose officers and members join together in this tribute of profound grief and everlasting gratitude. This writer and maker of American Church history now knows the Eternal Day. What even he has seen only in a dark manner and as in a glass, he now knows face to face. And on earth he leaves a host of friends and followers, who will hold his name forever in devoted suffrage and in grateful benediction.

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